







THE TESTIMONY OF ANTIQUITY, &c.



THE
TESTIMONY OF ANTIQUITY
TO THE
SUPREMACY
OF
THE HOLY SEE,

TO WHICH ARE APPENDED, A VIEW OF THE
SCRIPTURE PROOF OF ST. PETER'S PRE-EMINENCE,
AND A LIST OF
ANGLICAN MISREPRESENTATIONS.

BY

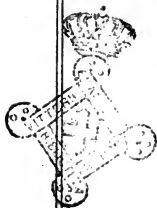
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DE QUÆ ER AGITUR CUM DE PRIMATU PONTIFICIS AGITUR?....DE SUMMA REI CHRISTIANÆ.

SYDNEY:

C. ST. JULIAN, KING STREET, EAST.

1848.



TO THOSE
AMONG HIS ANGLICAN FRIENDS,
WHO
LEARNED, WITH HIM, TO REVERENCE ANTIQUITY,
AND TO RECOGNISE IN
The Visible Church
THE APPOINTED TEACHER OF ALL CHRISTIAN TRUTH,
IN A HUMBLE HOPE
THAT HE MAY BE INSTRUMENTAL IN OPENING THEIR EYES
TO THE NECESSITY
OF EXAMINING THEIR POSITION,
AND
WITH AN EARNEST PRAYER, THAT
IN GOD'S GOOD TIME,
THEY MAY RETURN TO THE BOSOM OF
Their Mother,
THE CHURCH OF THEIR FATHERS,
THIS LITTLE WORK,
BEGUN IN PERPLEXITY, AND ENDED IN PEACE,
IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED,
BY THEIR FAITHFUL BROTHER,
AND SERVANT,
R. K. SCONCE.



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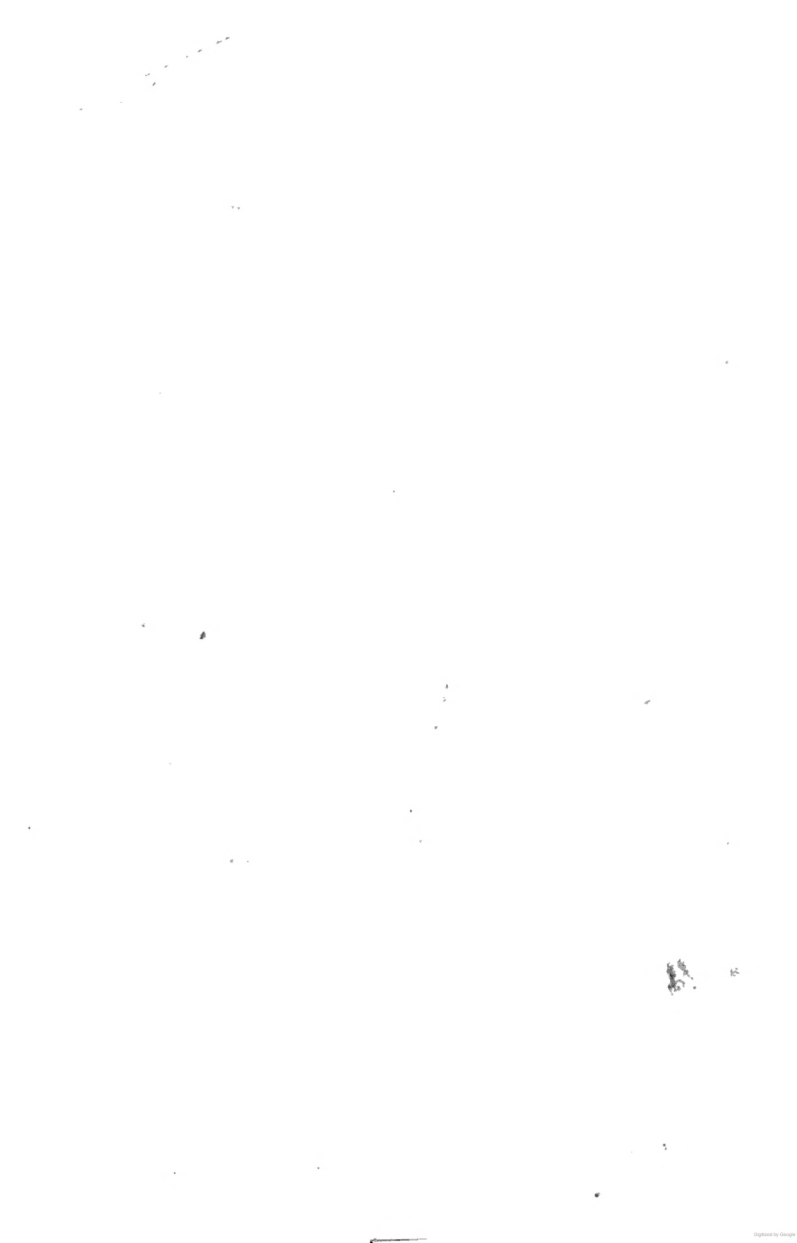
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SHOULD any inaccuracy be detected in the *references* occurring in this volume, the writer would plead his inability to revise them, without much inconvenience and delay. The quotations were mainly taken from Editions to which he no longer has access;—namely, those in the Anglican Theological Library. He had no thought of publishing them at the time, and it is possible, therefore, that mistakes have occurred, which with more care might have been avoided.

For the *translation* of some few of the passages quoted, the writer is indebted to others. Those of St. Cyprian are, with slight alterations, from the Oxford "*Library of the Fathers*;"—but sad experience having taught him that nothing can be taken upon trust, his rule has been to use no translator's words, till he was satisfied, by careful examination, that they conveyed the true meaning of the Author. Generally the translation is his own.

No work has been wittingly cited, the genuineness of which has been questioned by the most scrupulous of Protestant critics. Many witnesses, therefore, have been set aside, of whose authority the writer himself has little doubt.





P R E F A C E .

THE following pages comprise the substance of Notes and Memoranda entered in the writer's commonplace-book during the year preceding his submission to the Catholic Church. They were collected at a time when he would gladly have persuaded himself that the Anglican Establishment was "a *branch*" of that Church. To the Society in which he had been brought up his own affections and associations bound him strongly. He was not acquainted with a single Catholic in the Colony; and he had no access to any of the great Catholic controversialists. He began the study of the Fathers, therefore, under circumstances which were calculated to magnify in his eyes all that could be gathered from them in support of the position in which he was placed, and to diminish the weight of whatever might appear to be opposed to that position. He was familiar with the "Anti-Roman" arguments of Barrow, Bull, Taylor, and the other great Protestant Divines, and he pursued his studies with their works at his side, looking for their answers, and mastering them thoroughly as he proceeded. Yet the result was that he found a "consensus" of the Fathers against the Anglican theory of Catholicity, and in favour of that which has the sanction of the Holy See of Rome. The doctrines and practices of the fourth and fifth centuries he found to be in all essentials identical with those of the present Roman Church; and the hypothesis of a sudden and universal corruption occurring simultaneously in East and West at the very time of all others when the Church abounded in great and holy men, seemed to him too absurd to be seriously entertained for an instant. He had been trained by the Anglican system to recognise the great importance of Apostolical tradition in determining the sense of Holy Scripture, and he found that the Fathers of the Nicene age held the same belief. Yet they differed in their doctrine. They adopted what Anglicans deem corruptions of Catholic truth, and did so on the ground that such doctrines and practices came down to them from the Apostles. The writer then was naturally led to consider

why Luther and Cranmer, or Barrow and Taylor, should be better able to judge what *are* Apostolical traditions than those Fathers were. The Fathers were witnesses of the living and speaking voice of the Church as it had been received by the generation preceding them :—they possessed all the Ante-Nicene documents that have reached us, and *a great many more besides*, for there is no question that the Arians destroyed Catholic writings whenever they could lay hands on them. Why then should not they have been better judges than we are? Undoubtedly they were; and as we have no hesitation in availing ourselves of their authority in defending the Canon of Scripture and the Nicene faith, so we ought not in consistency to reject it when, with just as much plainness of speech, they bear testimony, e.g., to the practice of the Invocation of Saints, or the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy.

The writer, soon after his conversion, published a pamphlet containing a short account of the circumstances that had led him to examine the claims of the Church in communion with the See of Rome. It was entitled, "Reasons for submitting to the Catholic Church;" but in fact it was little more than a narrative of personal matters in which the writer had grounds for believing his late parishoners would be interested. "Reasons," however, were given, though little was said in support of them. The object was not to supply any knowledge of Catholic Truth, but simply to awaken an interest in it. The Reasons were these two—1st, that the CHURCH IS THE DIVINELY-COMMISSIONED TEACHER OF CHRISTIANITY; and 2ndly, that THE SOCIETY WHICH IS IN COMMUNION WITH THE BISHOP OF ROME IS THE CHURCH. The former of these propositions Anglican "High Churchmen" fully admit. If the truth of the other, therefore, can be established, they must, in consistency, become Catholics. The testimony of Antiquity to the *tenets* of the Catholic Church, as well as its constitution, might of course be given, but Anglicans are comparatively little interested in this. They are fully prepared to receive Catholic doctrine whenever they are sufficiently assured of the authority that propounds it.

"The doctrine of the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome over the universal Church is the point on which all other controversies between the Roman and other Churches turn: for if our Lord Jesus Christ instituted any official supremacy of one Bishop in the Catholic Church, to endure always; and if this supremacy be inherited by the Bishop of Rome, it will readily follow that the Catholic Church is limited to those of the Roman obedience; and that the councils, doc-

trines, and traditions of those Churches are invested with the authority of the whole Christian world."—(Palmer's Treatise on the Church.)

It is not necessary to add anything to this admission of an Anglican Divine; but before the Reader proceeds to an investigation of the subject, it would be well for him to consider whether he approaches it in a spirit such as is likely to meet with the blessing of God. The Jews, let him remember, came to Christ, no doubt with something of what would now-a-days be called sincerity, and said, "If thou be the Christ *tell us plainly.*" They might have said, as Protestant writers say in their books about the Supremacy, "We have a right to ask this, to know the other," before we submit our necks to such a yoke. "How long dost thou keep our soul in suspense?" If it really be necessary that we should follow Thee, surely our Scriptures would have spoken so clearly that we could have no doubts. They considered our Lord a *pretender* to the throne of Israel, and crucified Him because He made Himself a *King*; and they had no misgivings as to their rejection of Him, simply because the *primâ facie* teaching of their Scriptures seemed opposed to our Saviour's claim. Just so Protestants consider the Pope a pretender to the throne of St. Peter, and have no misgivings in rejecting him and saying, "Whom makest thou thyself," because *their* Scriptures do not speak with the *παρρησία* which they demand as a right.* This is surely not the way for Christians to address their Holy Mother the Church, any more than it was the way for the Jews to address their Maker. Rather they should be the first to say to those who would estrange them from her, "We have a right to expect that Antiquity, with unanimous voice, should denounce all dependance on existing authority, and that the Fathers, with one consent, should bear testimony to the right of private judgment, before we shake off allegiance to him whom we find placed over us by our Lord, and change the religion of our ancestors." We ought not to presume the Church wrong till we see that she is right. The part of faith and love is rather to presume her right until we have the most overwhelming testimony to shew that she is wrong. Let the reader suppose himself to have lived at the time of the so-called Reformation. He would find himself under the care of one who claimed his obedience, on the ground that for 1500 years his predecessor had made the same claim. He would find that even the turbulent agitators who were seeking the downfall of the Church, the unhappy men called the "Reformers," admitted that this claim was at least a

* In Mr. Allwood's lectures such expressions as "We have a right to ask," "We have a right to expect," occur in every other page.

thousand years standing, and was certainly the most venerable of "the powers that be." Would he not, if he were really a *religious* man, under such circumstances, have hesitated before he rebelled against the authority set over him by God, simply on account of historical difficulties as to its origin and establishment? If the historical difficulties, whatever they may be, were placed before him, would he not readily and joyfully avail himself of any rational explanation of them that he could obtain? Would he not be *right* in presuming that the difficulties *could* be got over? And would he not be very *wrong* in demanding *demonstrative* arguments to keep him steadfast to the religion of his fathers? Undoubtedly a good Catholic in those days would have done what a good Protestant would do now if Paine's arguments against the Scriptures were urged upon him. The tradition of ages, and the aggregate of probable proof are enough for the Protestant in his struggle with the infidel; and they are enough for the Catholic in his struggle with the Protestant. A craving for absolute demonstration in contingent truth is the sign of an unphilosophical intellect, as well as of an unchristian temper.

Let the Reader bear this in mind, and then perhaps, when he has read the testimonies here adduced, he may be disposed to think, as the writer does, that the Protestant spirit, in rejecting the authority of the Holy See, is much like that of St. Thomas when he said, "Unless I see, I WILL not believe."

Two Appendices have been added to the "Catena Patrum." One is a synopsis of the Scripture proof of St. Peter's Supremacy, re-printed from the writer's former pamphlet; with a little treatise of St. Francis de Sales, translated by a friend. The other is a list of Protestant misrepresentations which it has been deemed necessary to publish, in consequence of the effort recently made to bring into notice Mr. Allwood's "Lectures on the Papal claim."

St. Mary's Seminary, Sydney,
Feast of St. Wilfred, 1848.

"HOC ECCLESIA SEMPER HABUIT, SEMPER TENUIT; HOC A MAJORUM FIDE PERCEPIT; HOC USQUE IN FINEM PERSEVERANTER CUSTODIET."

S. AUGUST. TOM. V. 810. A.

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* The testimony of these historians is taken out of its place, that it may be viewed in connection with that of St. Athanasius and St. Julius.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 80, col. 2. No. LX, for A. D. 469, read A. D. 419.

Page 123, for as witness, read as a witness.

Page 124, col. 2, No. XXXIII, for Bishops read Bishop. And,
No. XXXVI, for page 102, read page 202.

Page 133, col. 1, last line, for page 172, read page 207. And in the
next line but one, for Reverendcy read Precedency.

THE TESTIMONY OF ANTIQUITY, &c.

To one who believes in the Divine right of *Episcopacy*, or in the true nature of the Christian Priesthood, there is absolutely no difficulty in the way of admitting the Divine right of the *Papacy*. No candid reader of Scripture will maintain that there is half so much upon its face on the subject of Episcopal government, or of Sacerdotal functions, as there is on that of St. Peter's prerogatives. It is usual with "High Church" Divines of the Anglican communion to account for the silence of the Apostles about the constitution of the Church, partly on the ground that the Christian Hierarchy was to be gradually grafted upon the Jewish, and partly because while the inspired Apostles were yet alive, an extraordinary system prevailed which was to yield to the ordinary system when they were withdrawn from the world. The Ecclesiastical system was to succeed to the Apostolical. The Episcopate, in its full organization under the Chief Bishop, was to be a development of the unsystematic state of things which existed while the Infant Church was under the immediate superintendence of inspired men. The unanswerable arguments of St. Jerome, by which he proves that there is nothing in the Bible about Bishops as a distinct order, are well known. He maintains, in his Epistle to Evagrius, that the Episcopate is a development, and one can hardly imagine how any other view can be held with even the slightest shew of reason.

Now whatever causes are assigned for the silence of *Scripture* on the subject of the Hierarchy, will also account for

the silence of those few of the Fathers who were contemporary with the Apostles. St. Barnabas, St. Clement, St. Hermas, and St. Polycarp wrote while the Apostles were yet alive, and they say nothing therefore either of the Episcopate or the Papacy, though in the Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians we have a remarkable earnest (if we may so express ourselves,) of the exercise of the Papal office. St. Ignatius forms a sort of connecting link between the other Apostolical Fathers and the succeeding writers, and in the natural order of development, he makes the Episcopate his chief subject; yet even *he* hints at the pre-eminence of Rome, as we shall see presently. AFTER HIM EVERY SINGLE FATHER WHO SPEAKS OF BISHOPS AT ALL, SPEAKS OF THE PRIMACY OF THE BISHOP OF ROME. Those who are silent on the one subject are silent on the other also, as for instance, St. Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, and St. Clement of Alexandria; and the obvious reason of their silence is that their writings are entirely directed against Jews or Pagans, and there is nothing in them that leads to the question of Church government, or the nature of Catholic unity. Account for it, however, as we please, it is a fact that the advocates of Episcopacy will find nothing in these writers about Diocesan Bishops. They can not, therefore, be consistently quoted by Anglicans against Catholics. On the subject of development we shall have occasion to speak, in considering the testimony of St. Ignatius. We proceed now to the first on our list of Fathers.

I. ST. CLEMENT OF ROME. A.D. 65.

It is a remarkable fact that the Epistle which may be said to rank next in the estimation of the Church to those of the inspired Apostles is that of a Bishop of Rome. In the primitive Church it seems to have been included among the Canonical books. At any rate it was read publicly in Churches, and held in highest estimation. Eusebius* speaks of the "wonderful epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians," and St. Irenæus† alludes to it as being "most powerful" in the putting down of schism. The Corinthians in their trouble *appealed* to St. Clement, as we gather from the first sentence of his letter, and in answer to their appeal he sent *legates*, just as in later years his successors have ever done, to set matters right.

1. "Brethren, the sudden and unexpected dangers and calamities that have fallen upon us have, we fear, made us the more slow in our consideration of those things which you enquired of us; as also of that wicked and detestable sedition, so unbecoming the elect of God, which a few heady and self-willed men have fomented to such a degree of madness that your venerable and renowned name, so worthy of all men to be beloved, is greatly blasphemed thereby."

2. "The legates whom we have sent unto you—Claudius Ephebus, and Valerius Bito, with Fortunatus—send back to us again with all speed, in peace and with joy, that they may the sooner acquaint us with your peace and concord, so much prayed for and desired by us, and that we may rejoice in your good order."

There is in these words a very plain evidence of the *exercise* of authority on the part of St. Clement, though he says nothing about the nature of his own office. If it is considered strange that he should not enter on this subject, how much more strange it is that in writing on the point of local divisions he should say nothing about Bishops. His silence

* Hist. Eccles., lib. iii., cap. 16.

† Lib. iii., cap. 3.

on both heads has to be accounted for, and the very same arguments which Anglicans are compelled to use in contending with Presbyterians are of equal force in defending the prerogatives of the Holy See. The same reason which prevented St. Clement from saying with St. Ignatius, that "without Bishops, Priests, and Deacons there is no Church;" and "Be subject to your Bishop as to Jesus Christ," may very well have prevented him from speaking of the authority vested in his own person. This, however, would hardly have been necessary in any case. The appeal to him was a *recognition* of his authority, and a humble man would not make a parade of his own office unless compelled to do so, as was the case with subsequent Popes, by the opposition of schismatics. The fact is that Presbyterians could make a much better case out of St. Clement's letter against Anglians, than Anglicans can against Catholics. There was no reason for speaking of the Pope's authority, for this was appealed to, and St. Clement was in the actual exercise of it. There was reason for speaking of the *Bishop's* authority, for against this the Corinthians had rebelled, and yet he is silent about it. He says:—

"Do ye who laid the first foundation of this sedition, submit yourselves to... [not your *Bishop*, as we might have expected, but].....your Presbyters."

It is worth noting that at this very time St. John was most probably at Ephesus, much nearer at hand than St. Clement.

II. ST. IGNATIUS. A.D. 100.

This Father wrote epistles to several Churches, and among others to the Church of Rome. To her, and to her only, he gives a title of peculiar distinction.

"To the Church.....which presides in the place of the country of the Romans, all-godly, all-gracious, all-blessed, all-praised, all-prospering, all-hallowed, and

presiding in love with the name of Christ, with the name of the Father." *Ep. ad. Rom. Superscrip.*

Now weak as by itself any argument founded upon this passage might seem, regarded as a *link* in the chain of testimonies that have reached us, it must have considerable weight with any unprejudiced mind. The peculiar distinction St. Ignatius gives to Rome, *might* be accidental it is true, it *might* have reference to the temporal greatness of the city, it *might* mean no more than an empty compliment, it *might* designate only the chief Church of Italy. But the question is, what is it *likely* to mean? At any rate, whether it is admitted or not as a direct witness for the supremacy of Rome, it certainly must, in common candour, be regarded as materially weakening the argument *against* that supremacy which could have been maintained had St. Ignatius been wholly silent on the subject. Protestants are always suggesting that such a passage *may* mean no more than this, *need* not be taken in any stronger sense than that. We, in return, would ask, why *need* St. Ignatius have said about the Holy See more than he does say? And we shall endeavour to show that in fulfilling what seems to have been *his* peculiar mission, it was not probable that he *would* say more.

God brings about his purposes through human means, and by the agency of ordinary instruments. Christ, therefore, having appointed St. Peter as the centre of unity, sent forth His Apostles to gather the nations into a Church which was to be gradually, in due course of Providence, organized round that centre. The great schism of Corinth seems to have been the occasion through which the order of Diocesan Episcopacy was brought about. It opened upon the Church's vision the necessity of a local government in every particular Church for the prevention of internal discord. While the Apostles were alive they were themselves appealed to, but on their death it was understood that the fulness of the power which they had received

generally, was to be given to their successors in particular places for the government of their own Dioceses. They who had received the *Apostles* had received Christ, but now it was to be understood that the chief Presbyters, who had been ordained by the Apostles and set over different cities, were to be regarded as Christ's representatives; and the Holy Martyr St. Ignatius, who had been the companion of the Apostles, was a main instrument in making this dispensation known. Doubtless the Bishops had all been taught the nature of their office by the Apostles who ordained them, and doubtless the people too were instructed in their duty towards them. But Bishops did not, probably, stand in the very place of the Apostles until the latter were all dead. Then it was, but not till then, that it was said distinctly, "Be subject to your Bishops as to Jesus Christ." Supposing this theory to be true, (and those who reject it are bound to find some other means of reconciling St. Ignatius with the Apostles and the other Apostolical Fathers,) it would not be likely that anything should be said on the Pope till people knew what Bishops were—that anything should be said about the Head of the whole Church till due deference was paid to the heads of local Churches—that anything should be said about unity between Church and Church, till Churches had learned to be at unity in themselves. As St. Ignatius is in advance of St. Clement, so St. Irenæus is in advance of St. Ignatius. He speaks distinctly of the Supreme Head, and then follow in their order a chain of witnesses to the gradual growth of the Papacy, showing how all things were Divinely arranged to bring out the full Church system in the Nicene age, when persecutions ceased, and the kingdoms of the world became the kingdoms of Christ.

Mr. Milman, (a very impartial witness) in his History of Christianity, writes as follows:—"The whole of Christianity, when it emerges out of the obscurity of the first century, appears uniformly governed by Bishops. The origin and extent of

their superiority is among the difficult questions, [which have occasioned discussion. *Expansion*, however, or development, as this was, still it was no usurpation.] Neither the times, nor the circumstances of the infant Church, nor the primitive spirit of religion appear to favour a general, systematic, and unauthorised usurpation of power on the part of the supreme religious functionary. Yet the *change has already taken place* within the Apostolic times. We may perhaps arrive at a more clear and intelligible view of this subject by endeavouring to trace the origin and *development* of the Christian communities. The most plausible way of accounting for this *total revolution* [the episcopacy of St. Ignatius' time,] is by supposing, [with Mosheim, that it was a usurpation;].....but the universal elevation of the Bishops in every part of the world appears to me an insuperable objection to this hypothesis. It was only during the first period of undivided unity that such an usurpation could have been acquiesced in without resistance. All Presbyters, according to this view, gave up or allowed themselves to be deprived of their *coordinate and coequal* dignity; but no murmur of remonstrance, no breach of Christian unity, followed upon the momentous innovation. [The very words might be applied to the *further development* of the Papacy.]The chief religious functionary is the natural head of a purely religious community. *Oral instruction*, as it was the first, must have continued to be the *living*, conservative, and *expansive* principle of the community. It was *anterior to the existence of any book, the inspired record, and supreme authority of the faith.*" After a history of the increase of Episcopal power under this expansive system of oral instruction, he says:—"Such would be the ordinary development of a Christian community. [Under peculiar circumstances, however,] the *assumption* and *recognition* of the Episcopate would be more *slow*, or indeed would not take place at all till the final triumph of one of the conflicting par-

ties. They retained of necessity the republican form.....The constant and natural appeal to the supreme religious functionary must have materially tended to strengthen and confirm this power. Some of St. Ignatius' expressions, for example, "Be ye subject to the Bishop as to Jesus Christ"—"Follow your Bishop as Jesus Christ the Father; the Presbytery as the Apostles; reverence the Deacons as the ordinance of God," taken as detached sentences, would seem *so extraordinary a transition from the time of the Apostles* as to throw still further doubts on the authenticity at least of these sentences. But it may be observed that in these strong expressions, the object of the writer does not seem to be to raise the Sacerdotal power, but rather to enforce Christian unity with direct reference to the then fatal differences of doctrine. The full Apostolic authority was first claimed for the Bishops *DISTINCTLY* at a *later period*. The common Priesthood of all Christians was the only notion of the Sacerdotal character at first admitted into the popular sentiment.* The appellation of the Sacerdotal order began to be metaphorically applied to the Christian clergy,† but soon *became* real titles, and *by the close of the third century* they were invested in the names and claimed the rights of the Levitical Priesthood in the Jewish Theocracy. In the Epistle of Cyprian to Cornelius, implicit obedience is demanded for the Priest of God, who is the sole infallible judge or delegate of Christ. The *level* of Ecclesiastical or Episcopal dignity *gradually* broke up; some Bishops emerged into a higher rank. The single community over which the Bishop originally presided, grew into the aggregation of several communities, and formed a Diocese; the Metropolitan rose above the ordinary Bishop, the

* See the well-known passage of Tertullian: "Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus! Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesie auctoritas."

† It must not be supposed that we agree with Mr. Milman in all that he says in this long quotation. Here of course he is only hazarding a conjecture of his own.

Patriarch assumed a rank above the Metropolitan, till at length in the regularly graduated scale, the primacy of Rome was asserted and submitted to... The Dioceses *grew up*, &c.....The rank of Metropolitan grew up.....So Archbishops and Patriarchs *arose*. *Before the end of the third century*, the lineal descent of the Bishop of Rome from St. Peter.....arrayed her in pre-eminent dignity, and so the hierarchical pyramid tended to a point, and its base spread out in greater width. As Christianity assumed a more manifest civil existence, the closer correspondence, the more intimate sympathy between its remote and scattered members became *indispensable* to its strength and consistency. *Its uniformity of development in all parts of the world* arose out of and tended to promote this unity. It led to that concentration in the governing power of the few which terminated at length in the unrestricted power of one."

If it *was* the Divine intention that the Church should be visibly one, governed by St. Peter and his successors, could anything be more natural and easy than the providential mode in which, according to this narrative, it was brought about? All well ordered things, even when brought about by human agency, are attributed by religious minds to an overruling Providence, so that although it had no higher claim upon our submission, the Papacy would on this ground alone command our respect. But when, after considering it well in this light, we go on to reflect upon the declarations of Holy Scripture about St. Peter, and the universal belief in the succeeding ages maintained in the Church, we can not *escape* the conviction that the result was a *fulfilling* of the Divine Word, and that the expanding authority and power of the Pope was in accordance with God's will, and to be unhesitatingly submitted to by the faithful.

Mr. Milman is a Protestant heartily defending Episcopacy, not as of Divine origin, but as an excellent institution. He looks upon it as an easy and useful development of ecclesiastical polity,

extending with the extension of the Church. He is a philosophical, clear-sighted historian, and his *facts* may in the main be trusted. If then, in spite of these facts, we may regard the Episcopate as Divine, then, too, in spite of the same facts, we may (and *must* in consistency) regard the *Papacy* as Divine. Mr. Milman *is* consistent. He looks upon *both* as human devices. And he carries his consistency into all his views. He esteems all Sacerdotal power a fiction, the Sacraments shadows, and the controversy with the Arians a mere matter of metaphysics.

Mr. Milman states his "Theory of Developments" thus:—"The changes of the moral are usually wrought as imperceptibly as those of the physical world. The moral world has sometimes, indeed, its volcanic explosions, which suddenly and violently convulse and reform the order of things; but its more enduring changes are in general produced by the slow and silent workings of opinions *remotely prepared*, and *gradually expanding* to their mature and irresistible influence."

That there is nothing *new* in this notion, as it regards religious truth, may be seen in the following testimony from St. Vincent of Lirins:—"But peradventure some will say, shall we then have no *advancement* of religion in the Church of Christ, surely let us have *the greatest that may be*, yet in such sort that it may be truly an *increase* in faith, and not a *change*; since this is the nature of an increase, that in themselves several things *grow greater*; but of a change, that something be turned from one thing which it was to another which it was not.....In this case, let the religion of our souls imitate the nature of our bodies, which although, with process of time, they *develope* and *unfold their proportions*, yet they remain the same that they were. There is *great difference* between the flower of youth and the ripeness of age; yet the selfsame men become old which before were young, so that although the *state* and *condition* of one and the selfsame man be *altered*, yet

one and the selfsame nature, one and the selfsame person doth still remain. The limbs of infants be small, of young men great; yet not divers, but the same... If any parts there be which with increase of more mature years spring forth, those before were in man *virtually planted in manner of a seed*, so that no new thing do come forth in old men which before *had not lain hid* in them being children.....In like manner, Christian doctrine must follow these laws of increasing, to wit, that *with years it wax more sound, with time it become more ample, and with continuance it be more exalted*, yet remain uncorrupt and entire, and continue full and perfect in the proportions of each of its parts, and as it were, with all its members and proper senses."

The rise of the Papal Supremacy, traced from the germ, in its gradual growth, is precisely such a development as St. Vincent describes; and his testimony is very valuable, from the fact of his "rule" having been a main stay with Anglicans. Mr. Newman's "Essay" shows how all the doctrines and practices that have grown up in the Catholic Church to the full proportions they have now attained, are legitimate flowers and fruits of the seed of faith once committed to the Saints;—legitimate developments and no corruptions; all forming together one majestic fabric of truth, consistent with itself, with Antiquity, and with Holy Scripture. On the subject of St. Ignatius, Mr. Newman writes thus:—

"It is true St. Ignatius is silent, in his epistles, on the subject of the Pope's authority; but if that authority was not and could not be in active operation, then such silence is not so difficult to be accounted for as the silence of Seneca or Plutarch about Christianity itself. St. Ignatius directed his doctrine according to the need. While Apostles were on earth, there was need neither of Bishop nor Pope; their power was dormant and exercised by Apostles. In the course of time, first of all the power of the Bishop awoke, and then the power of the Pope. When the Apostles were

taken away, Christianity did not at once break into portions; yet separate localities might begin to be the scene of internal dissensions, and a *local* arbiter in consequence would be wanted. Christians at home did not yet quarrel with Christians abroad; they quarrelled at home among themselves. St. Ignatius supplied a fitting remedy. The *Sacramentum unitatis* was acknowledged on all hands. The mode of fulfilling, and the means of securing it, would vary with the occasion; and the determination of its essence, its seat, and its laws, would be a gradual consequence of a gradual necessity."

III. ST. POLYCARP. A.D. 110.

This holy Saint and Martyr had recourse to St. Anicetus, the Pope, on the question of Easter. Anicetus decided nothing, "ex Cathedra," and the question, therefore, was not at that time settled. Eusebius narrates St. Polycarp's visit to the Holy See in these words:—"In the time of Anicetus's Episcopate, Polycarp came to Rome, and conferred with him upon a question that had been started in the Church concerning the observation of Easter." St. Polycarp was the disciple of the Apostle St. John. His going up to Rome to see St. Anicetus is in some measure analogous, therefore, to St. Paul's going up to Jerusalem to see St. Peter. In the very few remains of St. Polycarp that are now extant, there is no allusion either to the Papacy or the Episcopate.

IV. MARCION. A.D. 120.

Marcion was a heretic, who was excommunicated by the Church of Pontus, and immediately on his excommunication he betook himself to the Bishop of Rome, to procure his restoration. When he arrived, Pope Hyginus was just dead, but the Presbyters of the See rejected him.—*Epiphanius, Har.*, 42.

No doubt the early appeals to Rome,

whether of Catholics or heretics, can be accounted for on other grounds besides the recognition of the Papal authority. The question is whether, to those who are convinced by Scripture and the subsequent history of the Church, these are not precisely the links which he would look for to connect the first appointment of an ecclesiastical head with the eventual development of his power.

V. ST. DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH. A.D. 168.

Eusebius, Book iv., chap. 23, has preserved a letter of his to Soter, Bishop of Rome, in which he writes thus:—

1. "For this practice has prevailed with you FROM THE VERY BEGINNING, to do good to all the brethren in every way, and to send alms to many churches in every city. By these alms you preserve as Romans the practice of your ancestors."

And addressing the Church, he writes as follows about the Pope:—

2. "He also encouraged the brethren that came from abroad with consolatory words, as a father his children." Again:—

3. "To-day we have passed the Lord's holy-day, in which we have read your epistle; in reading which we shall always have our minds stored with admonition, as we shall also from that written to us before by Clement."

VI. ST. IRENÆUS. A.D. 177.

"The tradition, then, of the Apostles, published throughout the world, it is open to all in every Church who desire to hear the truth, to see clearly; and we have it in our power to enumerate those who by the Apostles were appointed Bishops in the Churches, as well as their successors down to our own time, who neither taught nor knew of any such wild doctrines as these men propound. For, if the Apostles had

known any reserved mysteries which they were wont to teach separately and secretly to the *perfect** apart from the rest, these things they would have entrusted even before all others to those who were placed in charge of the Churches themselves. For them they wished to be very perfect, and in all respects faultless, whom they left as successors, delivering to them their own place of rule, from whose good government great advantage, and from whose failure, on the other hand, the greatest possible evil would accrue. Since, however, it is a long work in so large a list to enumerate the successions of all the Churches, we appeal to the faith and traditions of the greatest, and most ancient, and universally-known Church, which was founded and constituted at Rome by Peter and Paul,—that tradition which it holds from the Apostles, and that faith which is proclaimed to men through successions of Bishops coming down to us;—and so we found all those who in any way, whether through depraved self-will or vain-glory, or through blindness and perverse judgment, come to erroneous conclusions. For with this Church, because of its higher original, it is essential that every Church should agree—that is, the faithful from all quarters; and in this Church by the faithful generally Apostolical tradition has all along been preserved. The blessed Apostles then founding and establishing the Church, delivered the Episcopate, in order to the Church's superintendence, to Linus. This Linus Paul mentions in his Epistles to Timothy. Now, his successor was Anacletus, and afterwards, in the third place from the Apostles, Clement held the Episcopate. Under this Clement, when no small division arose among the Corinthians, the Church of Rome wrote most authoritative letters to the Corinthians, bringing them together in peace and reforming their faith, and announcing the tradition recently received from the Apostles. To this Clement succeeded Evaristus, and to Evaristus Alexander, and then,

* Alluding to the heresy of the Montanists.

sixth from the Apostles, Sixtus. After him Telesphorus, who suffered a most glorious martyrdom; then Hyginus, then Pius, and after him Anicetus, and at length, Soter having followed Anicetus, now twelfth from the Apostles, Eleutherius holds the Episcopate. In this order and succession the Church's Apostolical tradition and the preaching of the truth has come down to us. And this is the fullest proof that it is one and the same life-giving faith which has been preserved in the Church from the Apostles till now, and been handed down in truth."—*Adv. Hær. iii. 8.*

St. Irenæus says in this passage:—

1. Tradition must determine controversies.
2. The Catholic Church has kept the traditions delivered by *all* the Apostles.
3. We cannot trace them in the other Apostolic Churches, because such a work would be long and difficult (soon afterwards it became absolutely impossible), and *therefore* we appeal to *Rome*.
4. By *Roman* tradition we confound all heretics.
5. And we are obliged to go to Rome for Apostolic doctrine, not only because of the difficulty of appealing generally to the different Apostolic sees. It is, moreover, *essential* that all Churches, not excepting those other Apostolic Churches themselves, should agree with Rome (for such is the true force of "convenire"), because of its foundation by the great Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul.
6. Rome is the *greatest* Church—
7. And the most *ancient*—not literally in time, for that would not be true, but in *dignity*, because of its higher original—because it was the mother of all—that out of which all authority springs.
8. St. Clement exercised the Papal office by writing "potentissimas literas" to the Corinthians—fit letters from the Church which had the "potentior principalitas."

Great ingenuity has been used to explain away the words of St. Irenæus; and no wonder, for he was the pupil of one who had conversed with St. John, and his authority is therefore esteemed by all parties as of the utmost value.

(1.) With regard to the first part of the passage quoted, it is said that St. Irenæus only selects Rome for convenience sake, because he had not room in his work for quoting other witnesses. But this is maintained by erroneous translation and perversion of St. Irenæus' plain meaning. "Longum est in tali volumine" is construed, "it would be tedious in so small a treatise," whereas the true meaning must surely be, "It is a long work in so vast a roll of Bishops." But any doubt as to the right translation is removed by the word "confundimus." He says, "We value all Apostolical tradition, but as it is an endless business to examine the tradition of all the Churches, our way is, our *habit* is, to confound all adversaries by appealing to the *chief* Church, which keeps and teaches the truth for all." "Confundimus" means, "this is what we *do*, this is our *wont*," not "Since it would be tedious, &c., we are going to confound them now." How can he speak in the first part of the sentence of his own or his reader's convenience and then say generally, "*therefore* we confound heretics by the authority of Rome."

(2.) Then the other part of the passage is met by the reply that "potentior principalitas" means nothing more than the greatness of the Roman city, which made it a convenient place of reference.

Dr. Pusey quotes other passages from the same Father to show that ἀρχή is the Greek word for "principalitas," and we have so translated it. This at once overthrows the Protestant supposition. But if it means "chiefship" or "headship," it tells even more strongly on the Roman side, for then its present *power* and *supremacy* are spoken of, as well as its province as a keeper of tradition.

On the meaning of "convenire" it may suffice to quote the words of Salmasius, de Primatu Papæ. c. v. p. 65:—

"Necesse est, dicit, omnem ecclesiam convenire ad Romanam; id est., ut Græce locutus fuerat Irenæus, συμβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν, quod significat concordare in rebus fidei ac doctrina cum Romana Ecclesia Συμβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν αἰque usitatum Græcis ac συμβαίνειν τῇ. Unde apud Thucydidem συμβήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακιδαιμόνους, 'convenerunt cum Lacedæmoniis, pactum fecerunt.' Ita in loco quem supra adduximus, quem malus auctor Latinitatis Græcissans dixit, ad hanc.....pro cum hâc convenire."

As for the explanation suggested by the opponents of Rome, how can it be in candour admitted by any one who weighs well the force of the whole passage? Is it to be supposed for a moment that the holy father *dreamt* of the "potior principalitas" of a notoriously profligate city which was foremost in the work of persecution, when he spoke in such glowing terms of the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul? Is it to be supposed that he would say it was essential for Christians "convenire" with a place which they must have abhorred unless for the peculiar reason they had for holding it in reverence? Is it to be supposed that he was thinking of the *Principalitas* that had shed St. Polycarp's blood rather than of that which had armed him with St. Peter's sword against the heretics?

All parties allow that Christian Rome had a preeminence at this time. The question is whence was it derived?

PROTESTANT ANSWER.

"From the secular grandeur of a heathen metropolis; from the wealth and the literature (why not add the vice and the luxury?) of what St. Jerome called the Babylon of the Revelations, out of which he calls his friends instead of bidding them to "convenire" there.

CATHOLIC ANSWER.

"From its foundation by the most glorious Apostles SS. Peter and Paul; from those Apostles having poured out there together with their blood, their whole doc-

trine. (*Tertullian.*) Because of St. Peter's chair, whence the unity of the Priesthood arose; (*St. Cyprian.*) and which is says he, on that account the 'principal' Church. Because the 'Princeps Apostolorum,' (*St. Jerome.*) established there the centre of his authority. Because the 'principatus' of the Apostolate, which our Lord gave to St. Peter always 'viguit' there. (*St. Augustine.*) Because the fisherman, on whom, as on a rock, the Church was built, there had his successor. (*St. Jerome.*) Because the 'Caput Apostolorum' sat there. (*St. Optatus.*) Because it was 'facta caput mundi.' (*St. Prosper.*) Because it is the appointed channel through which it pleases God that truth shall flow on to the end of time. Because it is in itself, independently of all earthly power, 'maxima' and 'antiquissima.'"

Let any candid man say which of these answers is most consistent with St. Irenæus' words.

Compare the following examples of the use of "Principes" and its derivatives as applicable to St. Peter and his See:—

"*Princeps Apostolorum*" continually.

"Ad Petri Cathedram atque ad ecclesiam *principalem*."—ST. CYPRIAN.

"Quis nescit illum Apostolatus *principatum* euilibet Episcopatuui preferendum."—ST. AUGUSTINE.

"In qua semper Apostolicæ Cathedræ viguit *principatus*."—IBID.

"Quæ (Roma) tamen per Apostoliei sacerdotii *principatum* amplior facta est arce religionis quam solio potestatis."—ST. PROSPER, *De Voc. gent.* ii. 16.

"Ecclesia Romana semper habuit *principatum*."—PASCHASINUS, at the Council of Chalcedon.

St. Irenæus' words are—

"Ad hanc ecclesiam propter potentiorē [potiorem] *principalitatem* necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam."

If then St. Peter was "Princeps Apostolorum," because Rome was a mighty heathen capital, the place of concourse, and the centre of wealth;—

if the "Principatus" of his Apostolate was to be preferred before every Episcopal jurisdiction, because Rome was the school of literature and the emporium of the world,—*then*, but not otherwise, can we believe the "*Ecclesia principalis*," the "*Principatus semper vicens*," and the "*Potentior Principalitas*," to have derived all its dignity and authority from its secular position.

VII. ST. ELEUTHERIUS. A.D. 180.

This is the Pope to whom the ancient British churches were mainly indebted for their knowledge of Christian truth. The Venerable Bede says it is from him that British Christianity was first derived; but St. Bede's words, explained by those of St. Gildas, may be taken to imply, what is universally acknowledged, that the faith was not openly embraced by the British nation until the mission of Pope Eleutherius' legates.

St. Eleutherius succeeded St. Soter in the supreme Pontificate in 176. To him King Lucius sent Elvanus and Medwinus, begging him to send duly qualified and authorized persons to instruct the Britons in Christianity, and administer to them the Divine mysteries. Lucius's having recourse to Rome is the more remarkable, from the fact of the great St. Irenæus being so much nearer. Indeed, the messengers probably passed through Lyons (of which St. Irenæus was Bishop), on their way to Rome. There can be no doubt that in learning and acquirements, St. Eleutherius, holy man as he was, fell infinitely short of this famous Bishop, who is said by an ancient father to have been the most accurate expositor of doctrine in his day. Indeed, there appears absolutely no reason whatever why King Lucius should have gone further for advice which he might have obtained nearer, unless it were that he, or rather the British Church of his time, acknowledged the See of Rome, even at that

early age, and when the great spiritual monarchy, of which it afterwards became the centre, was not as yet fully developed or perfectly organized, as invested with some special prerogatives of rank and authority. Had the messengers consulted St. Irenæus on their way, (as perhaps they did), we can have little doubt, after what we have seen, as to the advice he would have given them.—The Pope sent SS. Fugatius and Damianus as his legates. They baptized the King and his household, and converted great numbers of his subjects.

If there were Bishops in Britain when St. Lucius sent his embassy to Rome, it is all the more remarkable that he should have resorted to a foreign quarter for aid and counsel. And even if there were no Bishops there, he need not, as we have seen, have gone so far as Rome to supply the want. Let us but be content to follow the Church of all ages in ascribing a right of precedence to the See of the Apostles, and the conduct of King Lucius becomes perfectly intelligible, without the necessity of supposing any flaw in the succession of the ancient British Episcopate, or involving any disparagement of the claims of other European Prelates.—(From the "*Lives of the English Saints*.")

VIII. ST. VICTOR. A.D. 190.

This Pope threatened the Asiatic Churches with excommunication, for observing the Easter after the Jewish custom. He was dissuaded by St. Irenæus and others. This is no argument whatever against his authority, for in later times we find the master-spirits of the day overruling the intentions of Popes, and sometimes rebuking them, yet submitting without scruple to their decrees when once passed. St. Louis scarcely approved of Honorius' measures against Frederick, in the 13th century; and St. Bernard absolutely *directed* Pope Eugenius in all the work of the Papacy. It has been generally allowed by Pro-

testants that St. Victor acted in a manner which countenances the claims set up by the Popes of later days. He is said to have been "arrogant," and "rash," and "insolent," and "uncharitable." So is it that Anglicans, in support of their position, are compelled to speak of one whom the Fathers counted a "thrice-blessed" Saint and Martyr.

St. Irenæus said not one word against the power of the Pope. His language is very plain. He entreated St. Victor *ὡς μὴ ἀποκοπτοί οἱ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι*. And so it was understood even by the the schismatical Photius, who speaks of the threatened excommunication as a thing quite natural, and in order. Βίκτηρ δὲ ἀρα κατ' ἐκείνου καιροῦ ῥάμης ἐπισκοπῆς πρὸς ὃν καὶ πολλὰκις γράφει ὁ Εἰρηναῖος παραίνων μὴ ἐκκαλῆσαι ἀποκορυττιῖν.—Phot. Biblioth., § 120.

The following words are those of *Grotius*, one of the best and wisest of Protestants:—

"Amongst these three most illustrious Churches, (Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria), the principality of Rome was greatest, to which it was necessary that every Church should have recourse, because in the Roman Church the apostolic tradition has ever been preserved to the faithful throughout the world, as Irenæus teaches us, who himself, when he admonishes Victor concerning the right use of his power, by that very fact recognises his authority over the Churches of Asia. The Roman Bishop is the chief of the Christian aristocracy, as he was styled a little while ago by the Bishop of Forosempron, *by that authority in which the Bishops of the Eternal City are pre-eminent*. Thus wrote Ammianus Marcellinus, a pagan, treating of the cause of the Alexandrian Bishop.Who that has bestowed any labour in acquiring a knowledge of Church history, can deny that those most important schisms which formerly happened in Greece and Asia, were healed by the Roman See?"—Animado in Animado. Revet. ad Art. vii.

IX. THE MONTANISTS. A.D. 200.

They endeavoured, and at first with some success, (i.e., until the nature of their tenets was better known), to obtain the Pope's favour.

X. PRAXEAS. A.D. 201.

He, too, had recourse to Rome with the same view. Tertullian says of him:—"This same man prevailed on the then Bishop of Rome.....to recall the letters of peace already sent out, and to cease from his intention of accepting offerings."—Adv. Prax. n. 1.

XI. ZEPHYRINUS, POPE. A.D. 202.

He issued "a peremptory decree," (Tertullian), on the ground of his authority as St. Peter's successor.

XII. TERTULLIAN. A.D. 204.

The testimony of this writer will be best appreciated by contrasting some of his *Catholic* sayings with those he uttered after his lapse into heresy.

TERTULLIAN THE CATHOLIC.

1. "Was anything hidden from Peter, who was called the rock on which the Church was to be built,—who obtained the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and the power of loosing and binding in Heaven and in earth?"—*De præsc., adv. Her.*
2. "The Church was built upon him." ["*Super ipsum*,"]—when he became a heretic, it was "*in ipso*."—*De monog.*
3. "If you think the heavens are still shut, remember that the Lord gave his keys here to Peter, and left them *through him* to the Church."—*Adv. Gnostic.* [As a heretic, he says He

gave them to St. Peter individually, and *not* through him to the Church.]

4. [Speaking of the mode of ascertaining true doctrine, he refers the reader to tradition, as it was preserved by all the Apostolic Sees. He mentions Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, as places where the Apostolic Epistles, originally addressed to them, were still read, and where the Apostles still lived, as it were, in the persons of their successors. While this was the case, it was natural and obvious to appeal to the unanimous testimony of the many, as well as to the authoritative weight of the one. During the time of the Apostles, all being inspired, there was no need of going to St. Peter; so, while their words yet sounded in the ears of their successors, there was not the same absolute necessity of going to Rome that existed afterwards. Still it was pre-eminent among authorities; and this appears in the enthusiastic climax with which Tertullian here concludes his reference to the Apostolic Churches:] "If you are in the neighbourhood of Italy, however, you have Rome, whose authority is, to us too, ready at hand. O Church, happy in its appointed sphere [*statu felix*,] into which the Apostles poured out, together with their blood, their whole doctrine, where Peter was conformed to the Lord's passion, where Paul was crowned with John Baptist's death, where the Apostle John was thrown into boiling oil."—*De prescript. adv. Hær.*

5. "One of whom [the disciples of the Apostles] chosen to be great, placed in that seat wherein had sat Peter himself, Rome the greatest bade Linus first to sit. After whom Cletus as shepherd took the flock."
[*Ex quibus electum magnum.....*
Hac cathedra Petrus qua sederat ipse locatum
Maxima Roma Linum primum considerare jussit
Post quem Cletus et ipse gregem suscepit ovilis.—*Lib. iii. adv. Marc.*

6. "What is it that our neighbours the Romans proclaim? They with whom both Peter and Paul left the Gospel, sealed, too, with their blood."—*Ibid, lib. iv.*

TERTULLIAN, THE HERETIC.

1. "I hear that an edict has been issued and that a peremptory one. The Supreme Pontiff forsooth, the Bishop of Bishops, declares, 'I give absolution even for the sins of adultery and fornication to those who have done due penance.' This is read in the Church, in the Church is this proclaimed, and she a virgin."—*De pudicitia.*
2. "Tell me, thou most benign interpreter of God!".....*Ibid.*
3. "And thou, O good shepherd and most blessed Pope, preachest penitence to adulterers, striving to induce them to seek communion with the Church."—*Ibid.*

[Such was the preaching of indulgences which aroused the Protestantism of the Montanist.]

4. "Who can forgive sins but God alone?.....If then it could be shown that the blessed Apostles themselves gave such absolutions, as the pardon comes from God only, not from man, it could not be of discipline that they did it but of personal power. For they, too, raised the dead, which God alone can do, and restored the sick which is in the power of Christ only. Nay, further, they inflicted punishment which Christ would not, for He said He came to suffer not to punish. Ananias, then, and Elymas were struck, the one with death, the other with blindness, that so it might be manifested that Christ would have done this also. So the Prophets pardoned on repentance both murder and adultery, because they also inflicted severities. Let me behold then now, may it please your Apostleship, some prophetic signs, and I will acknowledge your Divine right, and you may assert your claim to the power of forgiving such sins. But if it is only

the functions of discipline that you possess, and if it is not by sovereignty, but only in a ministerial capacity, that you preside, who or what are *you* to pardon, you, who neither showing yourself a prophet nor an Apostle, lack the virtue out of which pardon proceeds. But do you say the Church has the power of forgiving sins? This it is *mine* rather both to assert and to administer, for I have the Paraclete Himself saying in the new prophets, 'The Church *can* forgive, but I will not, lest others should sin.' The spirit of truth [*Montanus*.] can pardon fornications; but he will not, as it would be for the evil of many. Now, in your own opinion, pray whence do you usurp this right of the Church? [i.e., of Montanus and his followers.] If because the Lord said to Peter, 'On this rock I will build my Church, to you I have given the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven;' or, 'Whatsoever you shall bind or loose on earth shall be bound or loosed in Heaven;' if on this it is that you presume the power of binding and loosing has descended to you, that is, to the whole Church which is related to Peter; who are you to overturn and change the manifest intention of our Lord to confer this privilege upon St. Peter personally?.....Why then do you claim it for the Church?—and *your* Church, indeed, you carnal man! In accordance with this personal privilege of Peter, that power suits an Apostle or a Prophet, and the spiritual. For the very Church is properly and principally the Spirit Himself. The Church is the Spirit through a spiritual man, not a number of Bishops; the Church which the Lord has placed in three." [viz., Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla.]—*Ibid.*

The above is a PROTEST AGAINST ROME, against the *Supreme Pontiff*, the *Bishop of Bishops*, who claimed the peculiar privileges conferred on St. Peter and his successors, only a single century after St. John's death. And *whose* protest is it? Not that of a Saint, or

a Father, or a Church, or even an individual Catholic,—but of a fanatical enthusiast. Could there, by any possibility, be a stronger proof of the existence of the Papacy at that time, and of the Pope's recognized power among Catholics?

Tertullian had been a Catholic himself, and well knew what were the Catholic doctrines of the day. When he *ceased* to be a Catholic, he raised his voice against Catholic doctrines. And what were they?

- I. The power of absolution.
- II. The efficacy of repentance in the case of adulterers, &c.
- III. The Episcopate as essential to the Church.
- IV. The supremacy of the Pope as of Divine right, by virtue of his succession to St. Peter.

In protesting against these four Catholic doctrines, he calls the Pope (in derision, but doubtless using the Catholic language of his day) "SUPREME PONTIFF," "BISHOP OF BISHOPS," "APOSTOLICUS," "THE GOOD SHEPHERD," "THE MOST BLESSED POPE;" and speaks of his "PRESIDING" in a ministerial capacity, and of his "PEREMPTORY DECREES" being read in Church.

Now will any man believe that a Catholic of the year 200 would have objected to the three first of Tertullian's protests and *agreed* with the fourth? Would any Catholic have said, "you are quite *wrong* in assailing the power of the keys, and the Episcopate, and quite *right* in assailing the Pope?" Did any Catholic ever, before or afterwards, say anything like what the Montanist said against the Bishop of Rome? Let any one such taunt be produced from a Catholic writer of any age, and we will submit. If it were not for this most valuable protest, it might be said the claim was not put forth, it was not known;—but the protest proves that it *was* put forth, and was *well known*; and who can suppose that, after the publication of this heretical book, it was not *more* known than ever? It must

have been notorious that the fallen Catholic now railed, as, in St. Augustine's time, did Lucilla and the Donatists, and as, centuries after, did Luther and the Protestants, at the Apostolic See. Did not St. Cyprian know it well who had Tertullian at his fingers' ends? How is it that he did not take a hint from "his master" as he called him, when it would have been so useful to him in his contest with St. Stephen? or St. Augustine and the African Bishops,—why did not *they* take up the burden of Tertullian's Protestantism when appeals to Rome were found inconvenient?

The fact that there was a Protestant Church at the close of the second century proves that there was also a Papal Church. The former was founded by Montanus, and was soon scattered to the winds. The latter still exists,—by whom was it founded? For 1600 years at least it has existed;—where do we find the history of its supplanting that which preceded it, and which is said to have revived under the auspices of Luther, Cranmer, and Henry VIII?

Must we not think rather that the wild heresy of the Montanists served to make manifest the truth to after ages, that from the very first, communion with the one visible Church, gathered round the chair of St. Peter, is essential to safety?

WITH WHICH SHALL WE CAST IN OUR LOT, WITH TERTULLIAN THE HERETIC, OR TERTULLIAN THE CATHOLIC?

XIII. ORIGEN. A.D. 230.

1. "On Peter as on the earth, the Church was founded."—*In Rom. v.*
2. "Hear what is said to the great foundation of the Church, and to the solid rock on which Christ built His Church."—*Hom. v. in Exod.*
3. "Since to Peter the supremacy in feeding the sheep was given, and on him as on a rock the Church was built, the confession of no other virtue but that of love is required."—*In Rom. vi.*

4. "It seems to me that under the impression that Jesus gave the greatest honour to Peter, esteeming him greater than the rest of the disciples, they were anxious to ascertain from Himself whether their surmise was true; and at the same time they hoped to learn the reason why Peter was preferred before the others."—*In Matt. xviii.*

5. "St. Peter is reckoned first in the number of the twelve, obviously as being more honoured than the rest."

6. "Since it was ordered,.....that Peter should have an especial office, distinctly, and previously it was said to Peter, 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven,' before it was said to the rest, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, &c.' If, too, we examine the Evangelical Scriptures carefully, we shall find in them, that even in cases where Peter's power seems to be shared by those who are commissioned to exercise discipline over their brethren, there is a great difference and preeminence evident in what is said to Peter above the others who were second to him."—*Com. in Matt. p. 336.*

XIV. ST. HIPPOLYTUS. A.D. 230.

"By this spirit, Peter uttered those blessed words—'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.' By this spirit was the rock of the Church consolidated."—*Hom. in Theoph. n. ix.*

St. Hippolytus was a disciple of St. Irenæus, and a doctor of high repute among the Fathers. St. Chrysostom calls him "a source of light, a faithful witness, a most holy doctor, and a man full of sweetness and charity." Very few of his writings are extant.

XV. ST. CYPRIAN. A.D. 250.

1. "It is evident *where*, and *to whom*, remission of sins can be given, that I

mean which is given in Baptism. For to *Peter* first, on whom He built the Church, and from whom He instituted and proclaimed the source of unity, He gave that power, that whatever he loosed on earth should be loosed in Heaven."—*Ep. lxxiii.*

2. "Whither is he who thirsts to come? To heretics, with whom there is absolutely no foundation and river of living water; or to the Church, which is one, and upon one, who also received the keys of it, by the Lord's voice was founded?"—*Ibid.*
3. "God is one, and Christ one, and the Church one, and the chair one, founded upon Peter by the voice of the Lord. Another altar can not be erected or another Priesthood established, except this one altar and one Priesthood. Whoever gathers elsewhere scatters. It is adulterous and impious and sacrilegious, whatever is set up by human madness to violate the Divine institution."—*Ep. xl.*
4. "For neither did Peter whom our Lord first elected, and on whom He built His Church, when Paul afterwards disputed with him about circumcision, proudly claim anything for himself, or arrogantly assume anything so as to declare that he held the primacy, or that it was the part of the recently and subsequently called rather to yield obedience to him." [Implying that St. Peter's successors, who were with respect to other Bishops in the same relative position, ought not to make their primacy a reason for not learning of others. He adds, enforcing the example, "*Quæ aliquando a fratribus et collegis nostris utiliter et salubriter suggeruntur, si sint vera et legitima, ipsa potius nostra dicamus.*"—*Ep. lxxi.*]
5. "Since there is one Baptism, and one Holy Spirit, and one Church founded by our Lord upon *Peter*, with a source and MEANS of unity."—*Ep. lxx.*
6. "Peter, on whom the Church had

been built by the same Lord, one speaking for all, and answering with the voice of the Church, saith 'Lord to whom shall we go?'—*Ep. lv.*

7. "There will be schism, dearest brethren, so long as there is no regard to the source of truth, no looking to the head, nor keeping to the doctrine of our Heavenly Master. If any one considers and weighs this, he will not need length of comment or argument. [this not looking to the "source" and the "head."] Proof is ready for belief in a short statement of the truth. The Lord saith unto *Peter*, 'I say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven.' To him again, after His resurrection, He says, 'Feed my sheep.' Upon him, being one, He builds His Church, and though He gives to all the Apostles an equal power, and says, 'As my Father sent me, even so send I you; receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit they shall be remitted to him, and whosoever sins ye retain they shall be retained;' yet in order to manifest unity, He has by His own authority appointed the source of the same unity issuing from one. [In the 55th Ep., he speaks of persons going to Rome, "*unde unitas exorta est.*" Here then is the "source" before-mentioned, to which all must have regard, if they would avoid schism.] Doubtless the other Apostles also were what Peter was, endued with an equal fellowship both of honour and power, but the original issues from unity, that the Church's oneness may be manifested; which one Church, in the Song of Songs, doth the Holy Spirit, in the person of our Lord, mark out and declare, 'My dove, my spotless one, is but one; she is the only one of her mother, elect of her that bare her.' He who holds not this unity of the Church, does he think that he

holds the faith? He who strives against and resists the Church, is he assured that he is *in* the Church? For the blessed Apostle Paul teaches this same thing, and manifests the *Sacrament of unity*, thus speaking, 'There is *one Body* and *one Spirit*, even as ye are called in *one hope* of your calling, *one Lord*, *one Faith*, *one Baptism*, *one God*. This unity firmly should we hold and maintain, especially we Bishops presiding in the Church, *in order that* we may prove the *Episcopate* itself *also* is *one*, and *undivided*. . . . The *Episcopate* is *one*, a portion of which is held by individuals, *without division of the whole*. The Church is likewise *one*, though she be spread abroad, and multiplied with the increase of her progeny: even as the sun has rays many, yet *one light*; and the tree boughs many, yet its strength is *one*, seated in the deep lodged root; and as when many streams flow from *one source*, though a multiplicity of waters seems to be diffused from the bountifulness of the overflowing abundance, *unity is preserved in the source itself*. Part a ray of the sun from its orb, and its unity forbids this division of light; break a branch from the tree, once broken it can bud no more; cut the stream from its fountain, the remnant will be dried up. [Though of course it derived its existence from the "*origo*," just as schismatical Churches, having Apostolical succession, derived their existence from St. Peter. All these illustrations prove that St. Cyprian does not mean by "*source*" a *beginning* only, but a permanent fountain, or spring, or head, or centre. A Church can not cut off its *descent*, but it may cut off its connexion with the living and perpetual spring of life. It must be remembered, he is not talking about orthodox faith as the means of preserving visible unity, but, *vice versâ*, of visible unity as the means of preserving the faith. If the "*origo*" merely refers to the Church's genealogy, how can visible unity be

marred at all? Mankind are all *one family*, descended from Adam;—can they cut themselves off from Adam?" If the Church then is *one family*, descended from Peter, how can she, or any part of her, cut herself off from Peter? Of course it may be answered, *by heresy*; but then that is introducing another test. St. Cyprian's test is external communion with St. Peter. If it be said unity lies in the *Episcopate*, it does not in any way remove the difficulty, for that means nothing more than the Apostolical succession of Bishops, and they can not cut off their own succession. Besides, St. Cyprian distinctly says the unity of the *Episcopate* is preserved by means of unity with the source, and through being held "*in solidum*" by individuals.] Thus the Church, flooded with the light of the Lord, puts forth her rays through the whole world, with yet *one light* which is spread upon all places, while its unity of body is not infringed. She stretches forth her branches over the universal earth, in the riches of plenty, and pours abroad her bountiful and onward streams; yet is there *one head*, *one source*, *one mother*, [elsewhere he applies distinctly to Rome all these three titles—see Quotations 8, 10, 11,] abundant in the results of her fruitfulness. . . . He who holds not this unity, holds not the law of God, holds not the faith of Father and Son, holds not the truth unto salvation."—*De unit. Eccles.*

8. "They have the assurance to sail to the very *Chair of Peter*, and to the *Principal Church*, whence hath issued the unity of the *Priesthood*;—to carry thither letters from schismatics and profane persons, and to forget that the Romans, whose faith was praised by the Apostles' celebration of it, are such that *no faithlessness can have access to them*."—*Ep. lv.*
9. "As the place of Peter, [the See of Rome,] and the rank of the *Sacerdotal Chair* was vacant. . . ."—*Ibid.*
10. "But since the determined and un-

bending obstinacy of the separatists, not only rejected the bosom and embrace of the *root* and *MOTHER** [the Church at Rome], but also as the dis-sension increased and grew fiercer, constituted a Bishop for itself, and *against the once delivered Sacrament of Divine arrangement* and Catholic unity, made an adulterous and opposition *HEAD* outside the Church....."

—*Ibid.*

11. "For to each of those who sailed, in order to prevent their voyage from proving an occasion of offence, we are conscious of having given exhortation that they should acknowledge and hold the *root* and *MOTHER*† of the Catholic Church."—*Ep. xlv.*

12. [To Pope Cornelius.] "Letters were sent generally to all the dioceses there, that every one of our colleagues might steadfastly approve and hold to your communion, that is to the unity and charity of the Catholic Church."—*Ep. xlv.*

13. [To Pope Stephen.] "May letters be directed from you to the people dwelling in the district of Arles, by which Marcian may be excommunicated, and another substituted in his stead."—*Ep. xlvii.*

14. [To the same.] "Give us clearly to understand who has been substituted in Marcian's stead at Arles, that we may know with whom to direct our brethren to communicate, and to whom we should address our letters."—*Ibid.*

15. [To the same.] "To you in the very first place it was our duty to write on this subject." [Some African Church matter.]—*Ibid.*

16. [From the Presbyters at Rome during the vacancy of the Papal chair occasioned by the persecution of Decius.] "Since it is incumbent upon us who seem to be set in the chief place, and in the absence of the shepherd to have the charge of the flock....."—*Ep. xxx.*

* "Matris."

† "Matricem"

17. "The whole Church salutes you, which also with the utmost solicitude watches for all who call upon the name of the Lord."—*Ibid.*

18. "It is no wonder that you in your modesty and innate energy, brother Cyprian, should do this, and be willing that we should rather have a hand in, than be mere judges of your measures. As it is in our power to confirm your good designs, you would have us share them also."—*Ibid.*

19. "As for the matter of Privatus Lambesitanus, [an African Bishop] you acted with your usual judgment [pro tuo more] in giving us information of a subject which we are anxious about; for it is the duty of us all to be watchful for the body of the whole Church whose members are scattered through the various provinces. But even before your letter came, the cunning of that man could not possibly remain concealed from us."—*Ibid.*

St. Cyprian teaches in the above passages, that—

- i. The Church is one visible organized Society built upon St. Peter, who received the keys of it, and was appointed by the authority of Christ as the centre and source of unity.
- ii. Connexion with the centre of unity is essential to the existence of a Church, and therefore Bishops, in order to the unity of the Episcopate, are carefully to maintain this unity.
- iii. The Church has one head, and one source, and one mother, namely, *Rome*, which is the "*Locus Petri*," the "*Cathedra Petri*," the "*Ecclesia Principalis*," the "*Radix*," and "*Caput*," of the Church.
- iv. The See of Rome has universal jurisdiction.

OBJECTIONS TO I.

St. Peter was simply the first called, or first in age, or faith, or zeal,—or the first who preached and performed miracles. The reasons for his being put prominently forward, and for the privi-

leges given him were strictly *personal*. He in his own *person*, therefore, was simply a *type* of unity—an "*origo*," not as a source, or spring, or means of grace, but merely as a beginning of ministerial functions. The gospel *began* with him.

ANSWER.

This is an attempt to make St. Cyprian's words agree with those of the heretic Tertullian. But let it be well considered, first, that neither St. Cyprian nor any other Catholic Father *has* given his sanction to Tertullian's view; and, secondly, that they *could* not do so consistently with this their opinion about the source of unity. If twelve men are commissioned to perform certain functions, would the fact of one of them *beginning* the work have any very especial significance? Would it be something to be perpetually urged in practical explanations? The performing of a miracle, or the preaching of a sermon may be the beginning of a work, but how can it be a remedy against schism or a source of unity? It may be said—(and this is probably what is meant by St. Peter being a *type* of unity, though the idea is somewhat awkward)—that one man speaking at first for all, or acting in the name of all, teaches a *lesson* of unity. This is intelligible, but it does not explain St. Cyprian; for the being *appointed* as a *means*, or, being *ordained* as a *source*, and the teaching of a lesson, are two very distinct things. "INSTRUIT," he says, as well as "*ostendit*," "*unitatis originem*." Besides it is not St. Peter who "*ostendit*" but our Lord;—and it is not the *duty* of unity, but the "*origo*," that is shown. The "*origo*," too, is said to be a "*ratio*," a *means* of unity.

But after all, how can the most ingenious explanation of St. Cyprian's words apply them to the *person* of St. Peter alone when he expressly says (Quotation 8) that *Rome*, the principal Church, is the place "*unde*" unity arose? As a matter of fact the *beginning* was from

Jerusalem not from Rome. It was *not* at Rome that St. Peter *first* opened the Kingdom of Heaven. This one sentence of his gives full and satisfactory meaning to all he says about St. Peter himself. Among the Apostles there was little or no practical need of a centre of unity. The wisdom of our Lord's appointment would be felt and seen when the need was experienced.

OBJECTIONS TO II.

"Our divines consider that the Church is one, and that as there is but one Bishop Invisible, so in theory there is but one visible Bishop, the type of the Invisible, how many soever there actually are, each separate individual Bishop being but a reiteration of every other, and as if but one out of innumerable shadows cast by one and the same object; each being sovereign and supreme over the whole flock of Christ as if there were none other but Himself.—Such is the *theory* of the Apostolical system; but in order to avoid the differences of opinion, and action, and consequent schism, which the actual multiplicity of governors would occasion, certain ecclesiastical regulations have from the first been observed accommodating the abstract theory to the actual nature of mankind as we find it. First Bishops have been restrained, as regards Christ's flock, into local districts called Dioceses: next, as regards each other, by the institution of synodal meetings or councils, the united decisions of which bind each Bishop as if it was his own individual decision; and moreover, still for the sake of order, by prescribed rules of precedence;" but these regulations are not "*essentially* part of the strictly Divine framework, and means or conditions of grace. They are accidental only and discretionary. Accordingly when St. Peter is said to be the Head of the Church, whether in Scripture or the Fathers, we interpret it as representing the *abstract* Bishop, the one and only Ruler who is put over the household, that which each Bishop is by office. We

do not make St. Peter a real *centre* of unity, but only an *image* and *lesson* of it; we do not make St. Peter's chair, the Holy Roman See, a necessary *instrument* of grace, but a *symbol*. We make every Bishop the real centre, not the one Bishop who succeeds in the Apostle's seat;—we make schism and separation from Christ lie in opposing our Bishop, not in opposing the Bishop of Rome."—(*Note in the Oxford Translation.*)

A schismatic, then, is one who separates from the Bishop of any one place.

ANSWER.

To any candid reader, this "theory" must appear more ingenious than true. It is far-fetched, and in the highest degree improbable, nor is it consistent with the *Epistles* of St. Cyprian, which fully bear out the more obvious interpretation of his treatise on unity.

But supposing the explanation to be tenable, the question is, HOW CAN BISHOPS THEMSELVES COMMIT SCHISM? The breaking of that which is only an arrangement for convenience, and not "essentially part of the strictly Divine framework," can not be a separation from Christ. And what right had St. Stephen and St. Cyprian to interfere with the Bishop of Arles? (see Quotation 13.) He was the rightful Bishop of that place, that *one* integral see, Apostolically descended, the true representative of Christ. Could he separate from *himself*? "No, he separated from the *Church*." True, but then what becomes of the theory of each integral Bishopric, which has been just stated as an objection to the Roman view. Schism in a Bishop must be separation from other Bishops, and if the rest of the Bishops in the world are not at one, with *which* Bishops is he to communicate, in order to avoid schism? And how is the case now between Roman and Anglican Bishops? (we mean even supposing them not to interfere with each other's Dioceses.) They surely do not hold their respective parts of the one Episcopate "*in solidum*." If St. Cyprian was right, one or other

of these *sets* of Bishops, however he is interpreted, must be in schism. Rome and England can not be two *branches* of one and the same Church, for one or other has marred the unity of the Episcopate. The Bishops on one side or the other are as rays cut off from the sun. If it is replied that they are still one, because unity is preserved in the "*origo*," i.e., because both are descended from St. Peter, then, we ask again, how can a Bishop of Apostolical succession ever become a schismatic? Schism simple is, from the nature of the case, impossible, (yet this *is* the schism about which St. Cyprian is writing,)—and even such schism as might be implied in heresy is impossible, because every Bishop would have, in his independent power, a right, with which no one could interfere, to determine controversies in his own Diocese. He is amenable to no earthly authority. As long as the Catholic Church infinitely outnumbered schismatics, it was easy enough for an individual Bishop to know what to do. She was *obvious* to all beholders, and communion with *any part* of her was evidently communion with St. Peter. There was no necessity *then* for putting the centre of unity prominently forward. But how was it possible for things to go on so? Had the theory which Protestants are compelled to devise out of St. Cyprian's works been acted upon, there would in a very short time have been a thousand independent Churches, holding no communion with each other, just like Protestant sects. But that such a theory was unknown, is clear from that very case of the Bishop of Arles. He would not have escaped excommunication had he said "I stand in my own right, I am the Bishop of Arles, I sit in the '*Cathedra Petri*,' let no one interfere with me." It was necessary for him to be in communion with the rest of the Catholic Church. It was necessary for him to derive the authority of his own *Cathedra* from that "*unde exorta est unitas sacerdotalis*." He acted himself upon this principle, and was condemned, not for setting up altar against altar at Arles,

(how could he, being the true Bishop?) but for adhering to the Anti-Pope Novatian.

St. Cyprian's testimony, then, is either utterly valueless, and of no avail whatever in these days; or else it is on the side, not of England, but of Rome.

OBJECTIONS TO III.

(a) The "head" refers to Christ, (b) the "source" to the person of St. Peter, (c) the "mother" to the Church herself, (d) "Locus," and "Cathedra Petri" might be said of any Church as well as that of Rome, if it had the true succession; or it is a mere title of honour given to that city, without implying that it succeeded to St. Peter's privileges. (e) "Ecclesia Principalis" only means a principal Church, or if the principal Church, merely the Church of the principal metropolis. (f) "Radix" and "matrix" mean the Church itself, as we say, the "bosom of the Church," and are applied to the See of the true Bishop of Rome in opposition to the schismatical Bishop Novatian. (g) "Caput", when it does not mean our Lord, means the head of the Roman Diocese and might be applied to any Bishop.

ANSWER.

(a) The "head."—St. Cyprian is speaking of the visible Church spreading from a visible head, "She stretches forth branches over the universal earth; yet is there one head, one source, one mother." The Church visible is a body not a trunk, and its head is Rome.

(b) The "source."—This objection is refuted in the Answer to Obj. i. page 18. The passage, however, quoted above, confirms what is there said, for it speaks of something present, not past; something available as a guide under existing difficulties. "Una origo est," not "fuit." If, as the objectors say, "Caput" is Christ, and "Mater" the Church, and they are ever present to us, so too is the "origo." "Unum tamen Caput est, et origo una,

et una mater." But, in truth, they do all obviously refer to the same thing.

(c) The "mother."—It makes the passage absolutely unmeaning to say this is the Church herself. "There are many rays, one sun; many streams, one fountain; many branches, one root;" then applying the illustrations, "many Churches, one mother." If the aggregate of Churches make the mother, then the aggregate of rays makes the sun; of streams the fountain; of branches the root. The Churches spread over the world are, St. Cyprian says, "the result of her (the mother's) fruitfulness." But the passage, in its own plainness and beauty, answers all objections. One does but weaken its force by expounding it.

(d) "Locus et Cathedra Petri."—If it were said of any Church but Rome, it would be because all Church authority emanates from thence, and every See is in some sense occupied by the Pope, who is our Lord's earthly representative; but, as a matter of fact, St. Cyprian and all the other Fathers call Rome and Rome only by this title. St. Cyprian uses it as a simple appellative. Instead of saying "they went to Rome," he says they went to the *Cathedra Petri*, which is a sure proof that it might not have been said of any other Church.

If St. Cyprian had held the very improbable theory attributed to him by Protestants to get over a difficulty, he not only might have called some other See by that name, but probably would have done so, to prevent any one from imagining that he approved of the Papal claim, against which Tertullian had so loudly protested. The fact that he does restrict the expression to Rome strongly confirms one's belief that such a theory never entered his head. Whether the Roman doctrine on this subject is true or untrue, a connected view of the passages we have quoted demonstrates that that view was St. Cyprian's.

What has been said on the subject of the "origo" proves that the chair of Peter was, in St. Cyprian's opinion, the centre of unity; but all doubt as to

whether this was or was not his opinion is removed by his attributing to the "Cathedra" and the "Ecclesia" the very self-same office which St. Peter was appointed to fulfil.

"PETRO, unde unitatis originem instituit."

"PETRI CATHEDRAM, atque Ecclesiam Principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est."

(c) "*Ecclesia Principalis*."—Even supposing the words *could* be, without absurdity, translated "*a principal Church*," nothing would be gained by the objector, because *among* principal Churches, that would surely have the preeminence, which was the source of unity:—but if any words would supply the article, which, unfortunately, the Latin language does not possess, it would be those of the context. Who would dream of construing it so oddly, if it were not to prop up a theory? They went to *Rome*, to the chair of Peter, to the source of unity, and (of course) to the principal Church. Nothing but the catching at straws of a drowning cause would induce any one to substitute "*a*" for "*the*" in such a place.

For the notion about the metropolis, see page 9, where it is sufficiently shown that (independently of the light thrown on the phrase by his own writings) it is more *likely* St. Cyprian meant by the "*principalis ecclesia*" the Church of the "*Princeps Apostolorum*," than that which abode in the city of the Emperor Decius!

(f) "*Radix et matrix*."—This phrase, and elsewhere "*radix et mater*," he applies to Rome, and to Rome only; and there can be no question but that he means by it the "*unum caput, et origo una, et una mater*." It is very well to say a writer *may* mean this or that, but we want to know what he *does* mean; and the way to ascertain that is to lay aside all theories of our own, and search out what bears upon the subject in the author's own works. Now St. Cyprian says:—

Peter was ordained the source of unity. Rome is the "Cathedra Petri."

Rome is the source of unity.

There is one source, one head, and one mother.

When, then, he speaks in one letter of schismatics at Rome setting up a Head of their own, instead of clinging to the "*radix*" and "*mater*,"—and in another letter says he bade those who were going to Rome at the time of the schism, to recognize and support the "*radix*" and "*matrix*" of the Church, how can it be fairly concluded that no *allusion* whatever is intended to Rome or to St. Peter?

The facts relating to this last letter are these. Cornelius was elected Pope, and Novatian Anti-pope, at the same time; and distant Catholics were not for some little interval sure how matters stood; which was the true successor of St. Peter. During this time some letters had reached Rome from Africa, which led Cornelius to suppose the Africans were not yet aware of the true state of things. St. Cyprian, finding that this had happened, writes to the Pope a sort of apology, explaining the circumstances of the case, and adds that as far as he was himself concerned, though he could not give the messengers, who had been despatched to Rome, the usual letters of commendation, as he did not know at the time who was Pope, still he was not wanting in all due allegiance to St. Peter's successor, whoever he might be; for he bade them *ascertain* and adhere to the "*radix*" and "*matrix*" of the Catholic Church.

There would be no force in the apology if this were not its meaning. To the Catholic Church itself they already clung, they needed no bidding as to this, nor could it be necessary for St. Cyprian to write to St. Cornelius, merely to say he had given such a very common-place piece of advice.

If any thing further can be required to remove all doubt as to St. Cyprian's meaning, we would refer to a passage in Tertullian, *cap. 21, de prescrip. hæc*.:—"*Constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis ecclesiis Apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspiret,*

veritati deputandam." As all the Apostolic Churches were "matrices," so Rome, which is *κατ' ἑξοχὴν* the Apostolic Church, is, in an especial sense, the "matrix."

(g) "*Caput*."—As the especial application of the words "mater" and "matrix" to Rome, confirm the true meaning of the sentence "origo est una et una mater," so the first clause of the same sentence, "unum caput est," is confirmed by his saying of the Novatians that they set up "an adulterous and opposition head" against Cornelius. The objector says it *might* be applied to any other Bishop, but a very simple answer is that it is not.

OBJECTIONS TO IV.

(a) This can not be gathered from the passages quoted, for they only shew that Rome took an interest in, and interfered with, occasionally, the concerns of the Church universal; but this is no more than was done by the Bishop of every important see. St. Cyprian, for instance, interferes at Arles and elsewhere.

(b) St. Cyprian, in writing to Pope Stephen about the Bishop of Arles, merely begs him to *join* in the act of excommunication.

(c) St. Cyprian and Firmilian deny and reject the Papal authority on the question of heretical Baptism.

(d) The familiar way in which St. Cyprian writes to all the Popes of his day, proves that he regarded them as in no wise his superiors.

ANSWER.

(a) It *can* be gathered, for the tone of the Church of Rome, whether speaking by her Bishop or her Presbyters, is very different from that of St. Cyprian or any other Bishop. See especially the air of superiority which shows itself in the letters of the *Presbyters* of Rome, who commend the great Archbishop St. Cyprian, and exhort him to energy, and *confirm* his actions, on the ground of

their seeming to be "*præpositi*," and "having charge of the flock in the absence of the Bishop." As for St. Cyprian's own interference with other Churches, he seems to have been a master-spirit to whom people naturally had recourse, as they had to St. Bernard in his day.

(b) It is simply *untrue* that St. Cyprian begs the Pope to *join* in excommunicating. He begs the Pope *himself* to excommunicate Marcian, to substitute another Bishop in his stead, and then to send information to Africa who *was* so substituted.

(c) On the subject of Papal authority, nothing seems to have been defined in St. Cyprian's day, except that it was, as that of the Chief Apostolic See, and the See of St. Peter, of very high importance. As we have seen, in treating of St. Irenæus and Tertullian, the tradition of all the Apostolic Sees was the rule of faith, and it would not be till, as at this very period, there began to be a difficulty in ascertaining what that tradition was, that the full authority committed to Rome would be brought into action. The Supremacy of the Pope, and his office in preserving the unity of the Church, are matters quite distinct from his infallibility. The former are *de fide*, the latter is not. This must be carefully considered, and then it will be seen that the strongest opposition to the opinions or measures of a Pope is consistent with a full belief in his Divine Headship.

Let the natural and obvious conclusion be drawn from St. Cyprian's dogmatic teaching on the subject of Church unity, and then the very energy of his expressions in opposing St. Stephen's opinion about Baptism, will give weight to his conduct in adhering resolutely to communion with him, in spite of the danger which he believed would come of seeming to countenance what he considered a grievous error. This is St. Augustine's view. He considers that St. Cyprian was permitted to fall into error on the subject of Baptism for the express purpose of manifesting to the world, that a Saint, even when most strongly per-

suaſed of the correctness of his own views and the unſoundneſs of thoſe held generally in the Church, dares not on that account to *ſeparate* from the Church. God ſet him forth as an eminent example of one who would not cut himſelf off from the "*Cathedra Petri*," even though his own judgment did not approve of the doctrine taught by him who ſat in it, and while he felt it to be his duty, (ſo long as he *could* do ſo without breaking peace,) to proteſt againſt that doctrine. "Nam illis temporibus," ſays St. Auguſtine, (*Tom. ix. p. 94. C.*) "*antequam plenarii concilii ſententia quid in hac re ſequendum eſſet totius eccleſiæ conſenſio confirmaret, viſum eſt ei, cum ferme octoginta coepiſcopis ſuis Africanarum Eccleſiarum, omnem hominem qui extra Eccleſiæ Catholice communionem baptizatus fuiſſet oportere ad Eccleſiam venientem denuo baptizari. Quod non recte fieri tanto viro nimirum propterea Dominus non aperuit, ut ejus pia et humilitas et caritas in eſtudienda ſalubriter Eccleſiæ pace pateſceret, et non ſolum illius temporis Chriſtianis, ſed etiam poſteris ad medicinale, ut ita dicam, notiſſimam ſignaretur. Et ſi ſe ille ſepararet, quam multi ſequerentur! Quam latius Cyprianiſtæ quam Donatiſtæ vocarentur! Sed non erat filius perditionis, de qualibus dictum eſt, Deieciſti eos dum extollerentur.*" If he *had* broken communion with the Pope and thoſe who adhered to him, he would have been, according to St. Auguſtine, a ſon of perdition, and the Cyprianiſts, even though a much larger ſect than the Donatiſts, would have been no longer Catholics.

With regard to the error into which he had fallen, St. Auguſtine ſays:—"Ipſe ſine dubio cederet, ſi jam illo tempore quæſtionis hujus veritas, ELIQUATA et DECLARATA per plenarium concilium, ſolidaretur." And ſo, doubtleſs, in later times, he would have yielded ("ſine dubio cederet") to the deciſion of a Pope, when the Papal authority was more fully "*eliquata et declarata*." Had he lived in the ſucceeding century, he would have known that he was as

wrong in his oppoſition to St. Stephen as he was in the opinions which led to that oppoſition. He would have learned that it was againſt the Canons of the Catholic Church that any eccleſiaſtical deciſion ſhould be concluded *παρα τῇ ἡρωδων* of the Biſhop of Rome. Previously, however, to the *defining* of the Pope's authority, it was not unnatural that one who, like St. Cyprian, conſcientiouſly believed he had Catholic tradition on his ſide, ſhould follow the example of St. Paul, in withſtanding the repreſentative of St. Peter. In his epiſtle to Quintus, he ſays St. Peter did not *boast* of his primacy, but condeſcended to receive counſel from St. Paul. Even ſo he thought that St. Peter's ſucceſſor ought to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of his brother-biſhops; and, in the warmth of controversy, he ſaid things of which he was probably aſhamed afterwards, as was St. Auguſtine. "*Jam illa quæ in Stephanum irritatus effudit, retractare nolo.*" (*Tom. ix. 158. A.*) We have, however, in St. Firmilian's letter, the cleareſt teſtimony to the fact that St. Stephen *claimed* authority as St. Peter's ſucceſſor; and in St. Cyprian's oppoſition, we have as clear teſtimony that Catholics dared not attempt to refute the claim as Tertullian had done when a heretic. Even St. Firmilian, ſtrong as was his belief that St. Stephen was unworthy of his office, did not deny its authority. He only ſaid that St. Stephen abuſed it. What was the general feeling among the Catholics of the day upon the conduct of St. Stephen, may be gathered from St. Vincent of Lirin, who makes eſpecial choice of this hiſtory, in order to give a great example of Papal championſhip for the truth. "Pope Stephen," he ſays, "of bleſſed memory, Biſhop of the Apoſtolic See, thought it reaſonable ſo much to excel all others in devotion towards the faith, as he was ſuperior to them in the authority of his poſition."* No ſingle Catholic ever denied or rejected the claim put forth by St. Stephen and his predeceſſors; and the *oppoſition* to his views on the part

* Common. ch. vi.

of such men as St. Cyprian and St. Firmilian make the fact the more remarkable.

Had St. Stephen actually excommunicated St. Cyprian, which, as appears from what St. Augustine says, he did *not*,* there can be no question but that the latter would have submitted. Even supposing he could have defied the act itself, as rendered invalid by the errors under which he supposed St. Stephen to have laboured, it would, *in fact*, have cut him off (not only from the "caput," and "origo," and "mater," but, setting aside his views on that point,) from the "transmarine" Church, and the "orbis terrarum," and that was, in his eyes, as we may gather from innumerable passages, separation from the Body of Christ. Stephen, however, did *not* pass any sentence, nor did he ever determine the question in discussion "ex cathedra." His decision was simply, "Let there be no innovation; let the Apostolical tradition prevail." St. Cyprian, therefore, *was*, in his own opinion, obeying the letter of St. Stephen's mandates. St. Augustine says, "Si Petrum laudat et prædicat ab uno posteriore collega patienter concorditerque correctum, quanto citius ipse cum concilio provincie suæ, universi orbis auctoritati PATEFACTA veritate cessisset;" when the truth was DEVELOPED. The truth indeed *had* been generally received, for St. Augustine and St. Stephen both maintain that it was an undoubted Apostolical tradition,

on which St. Cyprian's immediate predecessor had innovated. So the truth of the Pope's Supremacy, and authority in matters of faith, was generally received, *felt* as an impression, and continually acted upon; but it was not openly and universally appealed to as a matter of course, until it also had been declared to the world, "*patefacta veritate universi orbis auctoritati*," which, however, was the case a very few years afterwards, according to the united testimony of the latitudinarian Greek historians Socrates and Sozomen, both of whom would have been inclined, from the favour they exhibited towards some heresies, to bear testimony *against* the Pope rather than for him.

St. Cyprian, speaking of the decision of his predecessor Agripinas and an African Council, said, "*Quorum sententiam religiosam et legitimam, salutarem fidei et ecclesiæ Catholicæ congruentem, nos etiam secuti sumus*;" and St. Augustine, alluding to this passage, has the following words, which attest the peculiar authority of a "transmarine" or Roman Council:—"Hac attestazione satis ostendit multo magis se fuisse commemoraturum, si quod de hac re *transmarinum vel universale concilium factum est*."—*Tom. ix. p. 104. B.*

Speaking of the *development* of the doctrine in discussion, he says "*Postea tamen, dum inter multos ex utraque parte tractatur et quæritur, non solum inventa est sed etiam ad plenarii concilii auctoritatem roburque producta post Cypriani quidem passionem, sed antequam nos nati essemus*."

St. Augustine says also that possibly St. Cyprian changed his opinion before his death, but that, if not, his martyrdom atoned for his error. As his opposition to St. Stephen rose out of his error, we may trust and believe, as the Church believes by counting him a Saint, that that sin also was washed away by his Baptism of Blood.

(d) The only remaining objection is the familiarity of St. Cyprian's letters to the Popes. Doubtless to the reader, at the first glance, this would appear

* "Stephanus abstinendos putaverat qui de suscipiendis Hæreticis priscam consuetudinem convellere niterentur. Iste autem questionis ipsius difficultate permotus, et sanctis charitatis visceribus largissime præditus, in unitate cum eis manendum, qui diversa sentirent. Ita quamvis commotus, fraterne tamen indignarentur, vicit tamen pax Christi in cordibus eorum ut nullum inter eos schismatis malum oriretur."—*De Bapt. cont. Donat. Lib. v. ch. 25.*

St. Firmilian's angry letter weighs nothing against the evidence of St. Augustine. Like all angry people he exaggerated, and spoke of the threat as if it had taken effect. Had either he or St. Cyprian been really excommunicated, their names would not have been in the Menologies.

"*Iratius nihil nisi monstra loquitur.*"

Martyrdom made a Saint of a passionate man.

strange, and perhaps he would have misgivings about the Holy Father's reverence for the Apostolic See. These misgivings, however, would be entirely removed as he became more intimate with the Saint's writings, and for this simple reason, viz., that there are many letters of Priests and Deacons to St. Cyprian himself, the great Bishop of Carthage, couched in the same familiar terms. If *Deacons* write to an Archbishop in a tone of perfect equality, and yet no one doubts the Prelate's far higher rank and authority, then, too, it is obvious that St. Cyprian may write to the Pope in this way without being supposed to claim equality with him. The truth is, it was the custom of the age for inferiors to speak thus to their superiors. Even servants called masters simply by their names. Titles were gradually coming into fashion, but it was not till the following century that they were at all common. See *Epistles* xxvi., xxx., xxxi., l., &c., in which Priests and Deacons call St. Cyprian by no other name than "Frater," "Frater Cypriane," "Frater Charissime." And the *Roman* Presbyters, as we have seen before, assume a decided tone of superiority, when addressing him.

It occurred to the writer, too late for insertion in the right place, that he should have noticed an interpretation of St. Irenæus alluded to in a recent correspondence with the Anglican Bishop of Sydney. With the reader's indulgence the omission shall be supplied at once.

The interpretation makes St. Irenæus say that "owing to the constant influx of Christians from all parts of the world to the Imperial City, all traditions and persuasions which prevailed any where in the Church must necessarily be collected, or heaped up, as it were in a storehouse, at Rome."

This is certainly an improvement upon the common Protestant explana-

tion of the passage. It *has* a meaning, such as it is. The other has none. There are two things, however, which shew it to be untenable.

(1) The Latin will not *yield* the meaning.

(2) The meaning is, in itself, absurd.

(1) "Ad hanc Ecclesiam propter principalitatem," means "To" or "with this Church, on account of its supremacy." There is not a syllable about "Imperial City" in the whole chapter. The pronoun "*its*" is implied naturally and obviously, whereas "of the Imperial City" can not be forced in without extreme awkwardness and impropriety. Then "*conservata*" does not mean "collected" or "heaped up," but "*preserved*." The latter difficulty the Bishop would remove by an emendation. For "*conservata*" he would read "*coacervata*." We will only ask, who but his Lordship would gravely try to make out, by such a conjecture, that "*Quæ est ab Apostolis traditio*" is not tradition from the "*duobus Apostolis*" just mentioned, or the "*beati Apostoli*" who are connected by an "*igitur*" with these very words, as if to prevent all mistake? In the preceding sentence we read that Rome "*habet ab Apostolis traditionem per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos*." "*Habet*" of course, "*traditionem semper conservatam*." And again, a few sentences after; "*Fidem quæ in Ecclesia ab Apostolis usque nunc sit conservata et tradita in veritate*."

(2) The idea of Christians from all parts of the world *bringing* tradition to the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, and so making Rome a *receptacle* rather than a *fountain* of truth would not only be utterly inconsistent with the unanimous voice of the other Fathers, but contradictory of St. Irenæus' own assertion. The *tradition*, he says, by which it was usual to confound all heresies was that which Rome *had from the Apostles*. The *faith* to which it was customary to appeal was that which was (not *received* by contributions from other Churches, but) *proclaimed* or *announced* by her to

all Churches throughout the world. "Annunciatam hominibus fidem."*

Protestant ingenuity has, in this instance, as in many others, proved a signal failure. In spite of all attempts to mystify St. Irenæus, his words are as plain as the noon-day sun.

XVI. THE EMPEROR AURELIAN. A.D. 265.

Paul of Samosata was, by this Emperor, ejected from the See of Antioch on the decision of the Bishops of Italy and Rome.—*Euseb. vii. 30.*

XVII ST. MILCHIADES. A.D. 311.

When the Donatists appealed to Constantine the Emperor to obtain his support against the African Catholics, he rebuked them for seeking the aid of temporal authority, and at once referred them to the Pope, St. Milchiades. St. Augustine says "*Sed quia Constantinus non est ausus de causa Episcoporum judicare, eam discutendam atque finiendam episcopis delegat, quod et factum est urbe Roma, præsidente Milchiade.*" (*Ep. 105. Tom. ii. 299. D.*) Elsewhere he says Constantine answered the applicants "*pleno livore,*" thus:—"Petitis a me in sæculo iudicium cum ego ipse in Christo iudicium expectem?" He so far interfered as to name three Gallican Bishops whom they wished to assist in the Council, but he sent them to Pope Milchiades, who chose fifteen others out of Italy to sit with him. By them the Donatists were condemned.

Archbishop Laud's account of this matter is one of the most extraordinary

* He goes so far as to say that the Church of Rome announced the tradition of the Apostles to the Corinthians through St. Clement. "Sub hoc igitur Clemente, dissensione non modica inter eos qui Corinthi essent fratres facta, scripsit quæ est Romæ Ecclesia, potentissimas literas Corinthiis, ad pacem eos congregans et reparans fidem eorum, et annuntians quam in recenti ab Apostolis receperat traditionem."—*Adv. Hær. iii. 3.*

instances of misrepresentation we ever met with.

(1) In commenting upon the celebrated saying of St. Augustine, "*In Romana ecclesia semper Apostolicæ Cathedralis viguit Principatus,*" he writes as follows:—(*Controversy with Fisher, p. 140.*)

"And to prove that St. Augustine did not intend by *principatus* here to give the Roman Bishop any power out of his own limits, I shall make it most manifest out of the very same epistle. For afterwards, saith St. Augustine, when the pertinacity of the Donatists could not be restrained by the African Bishops only, 'they gave them leave to be heard by foreign Bishops.'

This is not true, in the first place.—St. Augustine says nothing that can by human ingenuity be made to bear any meaning of the kind whatever!

The words which he quotes in his note, purporting to be those translated in the text, are as follows: "*Pergant ad fratres et collegas nostros transmarinarum ecclesiarum episcopos.*" Archbishop Laud says that in these words the African Bishops gave the Donatists leave to be heard by foreign Bishops. The fact is the words were never uttered at all by any one, but St. Augustine expresses his belief that if something of this kind had been said by the Donatists, when they first accused the Catholics, instead of going as they did to Constantine, then matters might have been peaceably settled. All would probably have been well, if the Donatists had in the outset begged the Catholics to lay the matter before the Pope;—if THEY (the Donatists) had said what Archbishop Laud, out of his own head, says the Catholics did say.

Tigesitanus, as *Primas* of the council which condemned Cæcilian, the Catholic Bishop of Carthage, should have said, "God has given us peace; persecution is at an end; let us leave this question of the *Traditores* in His hands. But if this can not be, if there are some people who have certain knowledge of any criminal giving up of the Scriptures to

the persecutors, why then 'Pergant ad fratres,' &c." This, in St Augustine's opinion, would have been an effectual way of preventing schism.

It is impossible for any one to read the sentence quoted, in connection with the immediate context, without seeing its obvious meaning. The Archbishop's version of the matter, therefore, is quite unaccountable.

(2) "And after that," proceeds the Archbishop, "he hath these words:— 'And yet peradventure Milciades, the Bishop of the Roman Church, with his colleagues the transmarine Bishops, *non debuit*, ought not to usurp to himself this judgment, which was determined by seventy African Bishops, Tigesitanus sitting primate. And what will you say if he did not usurp this power? for the emperor being desired sent Bishops judges, which should sit with him and determine what was just upon the whole cause.'"

This, too, is untrue. He hath these words! Certainly he *hath* them, but they are not *his*. They are those of the Donatists, and HE QUOTES THEM TO CONDEMN THEM.

"But forsooth," as one of them said, "a Bishop ought not (*non debuit*) to be cleared by secular authority. A strange thing, indeed, for them to say, who themselves appealed to the secular power; but still, as they repudiate their own umpire, we have the ecclesiastical authority against them. But, forsooth, *non debuit* Milciades to take upon himself to determine what had already been determined by Tigesitanus and his council. This, however, they *cannot* say in the present case at any rate, for they appealed to the Emperor, and the Emperor very properly referred them to the Pope, sending three Gallican Bishops to join the council at Rome."

A Donatist says, the Bishop of Rome had no business to interfere with the decisions of a Donatist Council. This is the *fact*.

A Catholic says, the Bishop of Rome had no right to interfere with the de-

cisions of a Catholic Council. This is the *misrepresentation*.

But this is not all.

(3) "Lastly," Laud continues, "lest the Pope and his adherents should say this was an usurpation in the Emperor, St. Augustine tells us a little before, in the same epistle still, that this does chiefly belong 'ad curam ejus' to the Emperor's care and charge, and that he is to give an account to God for it."

It was the Donatists (not "the Pope and his adherents") who said this was an usurpation in the Emperor; and St. Augustine says, in answer to them, that it *was*, in this case, his especial duty, "maxime pertinebat," why? "Arbitrum enim et judicem illi eum fecerant, qui ad eum etiam preces miserant, ad quem postea provocarunt, et tamen judicio ejus acquiescere noluerunt."

Archbishop Laud then makes out as an argument against the Pope, what St. Augustine used as an argument against the Pope's enemies; and then, in order to adapt the quotation to his own purpose, he translates the past tense as a present, and suppresses the annexed clause, which shews that the instance was a peculiar one. In this way he is enabled to give it as if it were a general maxim of St. Augustine's.

St. Augustine says elsewhere, as we have already seen, what proves that he never could have uttered such an Erastian sentiment.

"Sed quia Constantinus non est ausus de causa episcopi judicare, &c.," as quoted in the preceding page.

Anglicans, when they read this, will scout the idea of Laud's dishonesty, and accuse the writer of ridiculous presumption. In common fairness he entreats them to examine the matter. The result, he doubts not, will startle them; and he prays that, through the grace of God, it may awaken them to the danger of trusting their Divines, when engaged in controversy with Rome. The discovery had great effect in opening his own eyes.

XVIII. COUNCIL OF ARLES. A.D. 314.

1. "Since it was impossible for thee to leave that place where to this day the Apostles hold their seat....."
2. "It was resolved that (antequam a te qui majores diœceses tenes) our decrees through thee chiefly should be communicated to all."
- "Placuit etiam ante quam a te qui majores diœceses tenes per te potissimum omnibus insinuari."—*St. Aug. Tom. ix. Append. p. 28.*

This passage is manifestly corrupt. Some verb after "Antequam a te" seems to be lost. Perhaps the sense may have been, "Our decision also was that before it was confirmed by you, and so became a law of the Church universal, our decree should be as much as possible brought into general operation through your ordinary authority as a Patriarch." Certainly no argument can be grounded upon the words as they stand, for they have no meaning.

The "majores diœceses," probably allude to the more extensive *Patriarchate* of the Bishop of Rome. The Patriarchal power of the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch was "parilis" only to the *metropolitan* jurisdiction exercised by the Pope over the comparatively small district called the "suburbicary Churches."

The Council was summoned by Constantine, after much importunity on the part of the Donatists, to re-investigate their case. They were again condemned. It is not necessary to enter upon the question which might arise out of this re-opening of a matter already decided by the Pope. In the present instance a decision as to *facts* was all that was wanted, and of course *such* matters may be reopened as often as there is a probability of obtaining evidence on the subject to be discussed. The Council was summoned with the Pope's consent, and, as the Donatists were unable to establish their plea, the Pope's decision was renewed.

The Reader must remember, however, that it is of great importance to keep the questions of *Infallibility* and *Supre-*

macy distinct. The Infallibility of the Pope is an *opinion* held by many Catholics, in which the writer himself concurs; but it is no Article of Faith. We only think it *probable* that Popes are prevented by the Providence of God from publishing *ex Cathedra* anything opposed to the truth; mainly because there is no instance on record of such an occurrence.* The *Supremacy*, on the other hand, *is* an Article of Faith. We can not be in communion with the Visible Church, unless we are in communion with her Visible Head. See St. Jerome's letter to St. Damasus.

XIX. COUNCIL OF NICE. A.D. 325.

1. IT WAS SUMMONED BY AUTHORITY OF THE POPE:—

We have in Theodoret a letter signed by St. Damasus and ninety Bishops from Italy and Gaul, in which it is written as follows:—

"As soon as the evil of heresy began to reach that pitch which the Arian heresy has now attained, 318 of our Fathers were selected by the most holy Bishop of Rome to deliberate on the subject at Nice."—*Eccles. Hist. B. ii. ch. xxii.*

This was entered among the writer's notes from the Protestant translation, published by Bagster. It is not literal; but, as the passage stands in the Greek, it implies the importance of Rome's co-operation, and is quite enough to prove that that Emperor would not have acted without the Pope's sanction. The literal translation will be given in the testimony of St. Damasus.

In the same letter it is said that the Council of Ariminum was no true Council, in spite of its numbers, among other reasons, because it was assembled without the sanction of the Bishop of

* *Liberius* yielded to his fears, and obeyed his persecutors. His unhappy act was no "ex Cathedra" decision. *Honorius* wrote as a private Doctor, and as such he was condemned, but no heresy issued from the Chair of Peter.

Rome, whose opinion ought to have been first consulted.

Ruffinus says that Constantine called the Council of Nice "ex sacerdotum sententia," and who the chief Ecclesiastical person was, under whose "sententia" he acted, is clear from the express assertion of the sixth Œcumenical Council held at Constantinople, in 680,—that the Council of Nice was assembled by Constantine and Silvester. "Arius divisor Trinitatis et partitor insurgens, et continuo Constantinus semper Augustus, et Silvester laudabilis, magnam atque insignem in Nicea synodum congregabant."

The declaration of Socrates and Sozomen that to make Canons without the Pope's sanction was against the law of the Church, shows also that Councils could not be summoned without their authority.

It is evident, then, that the Emperors called the Councils, not as of right, not from power inherent in their office, but because under the circumstances of the time it was more expedient that they should do so.*

2. THE POPE PRESIDED.

As we have the testimony of one Œcumenical Council to the fact that the Pope called the Council of Nice, so we have that of another, viz., the fifth, held at Constantinople in 552, to the fact that he presided there.†

Gelasius of Cyzicum, writing in 476, says that Hosius "obtinebat locum

* "La souveraineté politique n'étant de sa nature ni universelle, ni indivisible, ni perpétuelle, si l'on refuse au Pape le droit de convoquer les conciles généraux, à qui donc l'accorderons-nous ? Sa Majesté très-chrétienne appellerait-elle les évêques d'Angleterre, ou Sa Majesté Britannique ceux de France ? Voilà comment ces vains discoureurs ont abusé de l'histoire ! Et les voilà encore bien convaincus de combattre la nature des choses qui veut absolument, indépendamment même de toute idée théologique, qu'un concile œcuménique ne puisse être convoqué que par un pouvoir œcuménique." — *De Maistre*, i. 3.

† This has been taken on the word of Dr. Alban Butler, who refers to Conc. i, v. p. 337, 338.

Silvestri," citing Eusebius as his authority.

These direct testimonies explain what otherwise would be inexplicable, how it was that the Bishop of Corduba took precedence of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, as well as of the Roman Presbyters, whose signatures immediately follow before that of any other Bishop. His not being called the Pope's legate, or representative, in the list of signatures, may be accounted for by supposing it was universally known that he was the Bishop chosen on account of his peculiar merits to act on this as on other occasions in the Pope's name. His presiding requires explanation, and this is the simplest and most likely. No mere personal qualities could have made a suffragan Bishop take precedence of Patriarchs and Metropolitans.

The fact, however, of Hosius' presiding, (if Gelasius is set aside, as not borne out by Eusebius,) is gathered solely from his signature being first on the list that has reached us; and if that document is genuine, it is but natural to assign the same reason for his signing first, as for Vito and Vincentius signing next to him. It is remarkable that the Greek historians speak of nobody as presiding, and the obvious reason seems to be, that all the world knew of the Papal prerogative. This conjecture is the more probable from the care manifested in all the historians to mention the Pope's legates and the reason of his own absence. They are evidently anxious to show that he was duly represented, and, this being the case, his presiding is implied as a matter of course.

EUSEBIUS says, "The prelate of the Imperial City was prevented from attending by extreme old age; but his Presbyters were present, and occupied his place."

SOCRATES says the same.

SOZOMEN says, "Vito and Vincentius, Presbyters of the Church of Rome, were there instead of him."

THEODORET: "The Bishop of Rome, on account of his very advanced age, was necessarily absent, but he sent

two Presbyters to the Council to co-operate in all that was done."

Of Hosius there is nothing said in any of these historians to warrant the supposition of his presiding at all.

Eusebius and Socrates expressly assert that he took his seat *as an individual* among the rest;—and Sozomen and Theodoret say not a word about him.

On the whole we may conclude that Hosius did *not* preside, and that his name was put at the head of the signatures by some copyist, on the authority of Gelasius of Cyzicum. *He* probably confounded Nice with Sardica, where it is known that Hosius *did* preside, and, as he says, in the capacity of the Pope's legate. At Nice there is little doubt that Vito and Vincentius represented the President.

3. THE POPE CONFIRMED THE DECREES OF THE COUNCIL.

In their letter to Silvester, they beg for his confirmation of their decrees:—

"Quicquid autem constituimus in concilio Nicæno precamur vestri oris consortio confirmetur."

FELIX III. said, "Quam vocem ('Tu es Petrus') sequentes, tercenti decem et octo Sanctissimi Patres apud Nicæam congregati confirmationem rerum atque auctoritatem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ detulerunt."

Whether any Canon was ever made in the primitive Church, declaring the Pope's primacy, it is difficult to determine. There is certainly none *extant*, for the sixth Canon of this Council does but give *Patriarchal* authority to Alexandria, similar to the Patriarchal authority of Rome, and says nothing about primacy at all. Yet we know, from St. Athanasius and others, that Alexandria was under Rome's jurisdiction. It is very probable that there *were* Canons among those called "Apostolical" relating to the Pope, which have been lost; for we know that there is no authorized collection of them in existence. Those which have come down to us are genuine

as *Canons*, but not as a *collection* of any authority. The Fathers at the Council of Chalcedon, said, "Perpendimus omnem quidem primatum et honorem præcipuum, *secundum canones* antiquæ Romæ Deo amantissimo archiepiscopo conservari." Now, where is there any such Canon? Those of Sardica imply the former full recognition of the Pope as the Head of the Church; nor is their object to give further confirmation to the received view, but simply to point out to the Bishops of the Church, all over the world, under what circumstances they would be justified in appealing to the Holy See, from the authorities immediately set over them. Besides, both Socrates and Sozomen allude to Canons in full force before that Council sat.

If any one objects to this surmise that some Canons are lost, let him point out that which, according to Socrates, "commands that the Church shall not make any ordinances without the sanction of the Bishop of Rome," or that which, according to the Council of Chalcedon, acknowledges his "primacy and chief honour."

Should it be said that there need not have been any direct Canon, but that those prescribing the order of precedence to *other* Patriarchs *imply* his position, how strongly does this seem to point out that the Pope's primacy was *above* all Canons,—recognized from the first as of Divine appointment.

But as the highest doctrines of our most holy faith *have* been confirmed by Canons, so in all probability was the Supremacy of the Pope, and from the historians already alluded to, from St. Athanasius, and from the feeling and practice of the Church universal in the fourth and fifth centuries, we may infer, without much danger of being in error, that the Canons spoke plainly of the Pope's divine right as successor of St. Peter.

Some authors have contended that there were more Canons passed at this Council than those which have reached us. The opinion, however, of Natalis Alexander seems to be most generally

adopted, that there were no other *Canons*, strictly speaking, but that documents called "*Tractatus*" were put forth by the authority of the assembled Fathers, some of which were embodied in the *Canons of Sardica*. For more on this subject, see Appendix II., No. XIII.

It was probably to one of these documents that the Emperor Valentinian alluded when he said "*Cum Sedis Apostolicæ primatum, Sancti Petri meritum, qui Princeps est episcopalis coronæ, et Romanæ dignitas civitatis, sacræ etiam synodi (Nicænæ) firmavit auctoritas.*"

Again, St. Cyril of Alexandria tells us (*Prol. scrip. pro cyc. xcv.*), "the Nicene Council decreed that the Patriarch of Alexandria should signify each year to the Bishops of Rome, what was astronomically the right time for keeping Easter, and that the latter should, *by virtue of his authority*, oblige the whole Church to keep the same day."

Similar allusions might be cited from several other Fathers.

The Sixth Canon of this Council is perpetually quoted by Anglicans as if it restricted the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome within certain limits. As we have already said, it refers not to his Papacy, but to his Patriarchate. It is worth noticing, however, that even respecting his Patriarchate no *law* was made by the Council. On the contrary, the Fathers took the custom of the Bishop of Rome as their *guide*, and ordained that the other two Patriarchs should follow his example. Just as the Bishop of Rome, in his capacity of Bishop, is the best example for all Bishops, so the Metropolitan of the Suburbicary Churches, would be the best example for all Metropolitans; and the Patriarch of the West the best example for the Patriarchs of the East.

"Nothing can be more certain," says Mr. Allwood, in his 6th Lecture, "no words can more plainly convey their intention than that by these words [*sic*] the Council designed that the Bishop of Alexandria should have the same

power within his province [*Patriarchate*] that the Bishop of Rome had in his."

Clearly—The difference was that the Bishop of Rome had power *out* of his Patriarchate as well, which the Bishop of Alexandria had not.

Our quotations from St. Athanasius, St. Julius, Sozomen, and Soerates, prove, beyond all power of contradiction, that the Bishop of Rome had from the beginning controlled the Bishop of Alexandria. This fact would be abundantly sufficient to prove that the Nicene Canon had no reference to the Pope's supreme jurisdiction. But it is still more fully proved by the witness of *Rufinus* which Mr. Allwood and all Protestant controversialists quote in support of their own notion about the Pope's restricted authority. According to *Rufinus*, the power of the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch was to be "*parilis*," not to that of the Patriarch of the "*Majores Dioceses*," but only to that of the Metropolitan of the Suburbicary Churches, i.e., the ten provinces subject to the "*Vicarius Urbis*." If, then, by this Canon any jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome was confined to these narrow limits, it is evident that *all* jurisdiction which he exercised beyond those limits, was a jurisdiction of *another kind*. Thus we are enabled to overthrow the Protestant notions of the Canon, even without going to the testimony of the Eastern Churches. Every reader of St. Augustine, or even St. Cyprian, knows that the Pope continually exercised his pastoral office in *Africa*. If *Rufinus*, then, is right, whether such interference was in a Patriarchal or Papal capacity, it was at any rate an exercise of authority to which the Nicene Canon does not refer. That writer's witness, therefore, is valuable, as showing that the Canon in question does not in the slightest degree militate against the doctrine of the Supremacy. He proves that the Nicene Fathers had no intention of placing the two other Patriarchs on a *par* with the Bishop of Rome, whether as Pope or Patriarch of the West. Such is De

Marca's explanation of Rufinus, and it seems to be quite satisfactory. If it is *not* satisfactory to Protestants, they must explain, as well as they can, how it was that, by the Africans and Orientals of the fourth and fifth centuries, the supreme control of the Pope was not esteemed repugnant to the Council's decision.

We are quite of Dr. Cave's opinion "that Rufinus could not have been mistaken either as to the meaning of this Canon, or the province of the Bishop of Rome. He was himself an Italian, a Presbyter of the Church of Aquileia, conversant with Rome, who had travelled over most part of the Christian world, and was well known to persons of the greatest note and eminency in every place, in all which respects he could no more mistake the jurisdiction of the See of Rome than a Prebendary of York should [*sic*] be ignorant how far the See of Canterbury extends."* Nor could he by any possibility be ignorant of what St. Julius said about the custom of referring Alexandrian matters to Rome; or of the active control exercised by the Popes of his own day over the affairs of Africa. He intended to "shut up" not the Roman jurisdiction, but that of the Eastern Patriarchs.†

It would be beside our purpose to state the various opinions as to the limits of the Bishop of Rome's Patriarchate. We are quite satisfied to leave such questions in the hands of our opponents. All we would observe is that, in proportion as the Patriarchate is *narrowed*, the difficulty of opposing the Papal claim *increases*. The most effectual argument against us would be

* Allwood. Page 256.

† Of a matter of this kind Rufinus certainly could not be ignorant, nor would he dare to deny what even Arians admitted. Still he is not a man of much authority. He was under censure for following some of Origen's wild notions, and St. Jerome speaks of him in no very respectful terms. He calls him: "*Solécistam*" "*barbarum*" "*mendacem*" "*impudentem*." The sentence here referred to about the Nicene Canon shows him to be "*Solécista*." It is scarcely intelligible.

to make out that the Pope was Patriarch of the whole world, and that all his jurisdiction, therefore, was a mere matter of Ecclesiastical arrangement. But happily the very facts which Anglicans have used to limit his jurisdiction have deprived them of this only effectual weapon against his Divine Supremacy.* It is wonderful how, in all ages, the opposition of heretics has tended to strengthen the Church, and to elicit the truth.

XX. ST. PACIAN. A.D. 326.

1. "According to the relation of Matthew himself, the Lord spake a little above to Peter. He spake to one, that from one he might lay the foundation of unity. Afterwards delivering the same command to all, He still begins in the same terms as to Peter."
2. "He who sins against Peter doth despite to the Lord."—*Ep. iii. to Sympronian*.

XXI. EUSEBIUS. A.D. 328.

We can not reasonably expect any direct testimony to the authority of the Pope in Eusebius, for he was an Arian, and jealous, therefore, of the seat of orthodoxy. That it is his *way* to suppress facts, when he has an object in it, we may gather from comparing his "Life

* The writer regrets much that he has been unable to procure in the colony any of the recent controversial works upon the subject he is treating. With the exception of a few numbers of the DUBLIN REVIEW he has seen none of the books or pamphlets to which the late conversions have given birth. This must be his apology if he should have said again what, doubtless, has been much better said by others. This is mentioned here, because in a recent notice of Mr. Allie's "*Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism*," the writer observed that that gentleman admits the sort of Universal Patriarchate alluded to in the text.

An Australian controversialist can not help being somewhat behind-hand in the Theological world.

of Constantine" with his "Ecclesiastical History." In the former he describes the miraculous vision of the Cross, of which he says he had an account confirmed by oath from the lips of the Emperor himself. In the latter he does not make the slightest allusion to the occurrence.

The following quotations, however, show that he agreed with Catholics on the pre-eminence of St. Peter; and the care with which he traces the succession in the See of Rome shows that he was influenced in some degree also by Catholic feeling in regard to his successors.

1. "Peter, the disciple of Christ, who was preferred before all the rest."—*Dem. Ev. lib. iii.*
2. "Peter, the leader of the Apostles, denied his Master thrice."—*Com. in Psalm lxi.*
3. "Peter, the Apostle, by birth a Galilaean, and the first High Priest of Christians."—*Chron. an. xlv.*
4. "Under the reign of Claudius, the benign and gracious Providence of God conducts Peter to Rome, that powerful and great one among the Apostles, who, on account of his merit, was chief of all the rest." [*πρωτοπρεσβυτης*, "advocate" or "patron," or perhaps the same as "Coryphæus," viz., "One who, as the head, speaks for the body."]—*Hist. ii. 14.*
5. "The book [St. Mark's Gospel] obtained his authority that it should be read in Churches."—*ii. 15.*
6. "The same Mark was the first sent [of course by St. Peter] to Egypt, and there founded the Patriarchal See of Alexandria."—*ii. 16.*
7. "For this practice, a practice retained even to the persecution in our day, has prevailed with you from the very beginning, &c," [as at page 7. Dionysius's letter to Soter.]—*Hist., iv. 23.*
8. "The Prelate of the Imperial City was prevented from attending [at the Council of Nice] by extreme old age, but his Presbyters were present and

supplied his place."—*Life of Constantine. iii. 7.*

XXII. ST. MACARIUS. A.D. 330.

1. "For of old, Moses and Aaron, when this Priesthood was theirs, suffered much; and Caiaphas when he had their chair persecuted and condemned the Lord.....Afterwards Moses was succeeded by Peter, who had committed to his hands the New Church of Christ, and the true Priesthood."—*Hom. xxvi. n. 23.*
2. "Jannes and Mambre opposed Moses as Simon Magus set himself against Peter the chief."—*De patient. n. 3.*

The genuineness of St. Macarius's homilies has been disputed by Ceillier and others. His testimony has been used on the authority of Du Pin and Tillemont, and the English Translator, who published his works in London in the year 1721. Had Ceillier's opinion been ascertained before the final arrangement of the work, he would have been rejected. The writer's rule has been to avail himself of no witness whose authority has been ever called into question. The only other instance in which he is conscious of having deviated from this rule is that of St. Ignatius. That Apostolical Father is so unscrupulously quoted by Anglicans, and is esteemed so favourable a testimony to the Anglican Theory, that it would have been very undesirable to have set him aside. Few Anglicans are aware that numbers of works which are rejected by them because they seem to speak too plainly of later developments, are, in fact, not a whit more questionable than those of St. Ignatius. If a single Catholic Divine happens to suspect the genuineness of a work unfavourable to Protestantism it is at once condemned among Protestants without further investigation; and Catholics, confident in their strength, generally yield rather than contend for what is not essential to their cause.

XXIII. ST. ATHANASIUS.
A.D. 330.

1. "My cause was heard a second time at Rome, when, in consequence of letters from Eusebius, both they and we were *summoned*, and more than fifty Bishops met."—*Ap. ad Cons. ch. 1.*
2. "The Bishop Julius rejoiced with me in my return and wrote to the Church. The letter was as follows:"—*Ibid.* [See quotations from St. Julius.]
3. "Ursacius and Valens.....being overcome by the truth, became supplicants, and addressed a letter to that effect to Julius, Bishop of Rome."—*Ibid.*
4. "Thus wrote the Bishops of Egypt to all Bishops, and to Julius, Bishop of Rome."—*Ibid.*
5. "Thus from the first they spared not even Liberius, Bishop of Rome, but thither even did they extend their fury. They respected not his Bishopric because it was the Apostolic See; they felt no reverence for Rome, because she is the metropolis of Romania; they remembered not that formerly in their letters they had addressed her Bishops as *Apostolics*."—*Hist. Arian. ch. v.*
6. "Dionysius the Bishop, having been informed of what had taken place at Pentapolis, and in the ardour of his piety having written a letter, as has been said, to Euphranor and Ammonius against the Sabellian heresy, some of the brethren of the Church, meaning indeed rightly, but making no enquiries of him to know what he had written, came to Rome and accused him before his namesake, Dionysius of Rome. But Dionysius of Alexandria hearing this, wrote at the same time against the followers of Sabellius, and against such as held those opinions.....He wrote also to Dionysius to be informed of the charges alleged against him, whereupon he immediately returned an answer, and published a work of refutation and apology.....then Dionysius of Alexandria having

apologised for the letters that he wrote," &c.—*Sent. Dionys. n. 14.*

The title of "*Apostolic*," St. Athanasius says, was given to the Pope even by the Eastern heretics, and we have seen Tertullian using it in derision, as a *peculiar title of the Bishop of Rome in the second century.* (See page 12.) The following is an admirable explanation of the term, extracted by Mr. Ward, in the DUBLIN REVIEW for July, 1847, from Mr. Thompson's answer to Mr. Allies. It is an illustration of Bellarmine's opinion about jurisdiction:—

"While on earth, our Lord was not only, as He ever is, the head of His mystical body, and the true source of all power in it, but He was also the *Visible Head and Visible Source* of jurisdiction. Ere He ascended into Heaven, He commissioned Peter, and made him the supreme pastor and visible head of His Church.....then also he commissioned the rest of his Apostles in conjunction with Peter. He conferred upon them *an universal mission.* He conferred it upon them *corporately in union with Peter.* He did not give the whole world to each singly.....neither did He divide the world into twelve equal portions, and give to each a twelfth; but He gave it first to Peter, and then He gave it to the rest in union with Peter.Hence, Peter may be said to be the *source* of their jurisdiction, not as if it were conferred by him, but because, though conferred immediately by Christ, it was conferred upon them only as united with Peter.....

"The jurisdiction which the first Bishops received, was not conferred upon them immediately by Christ, but by the Apostles. This power of conferring jurisdiction, the Apostles had in virtue of their universal mission: but the mission which the Bishops received was *not universal*, but particular only. When the Apostles founded Churches, they did not communicate to those they placed over them that universal mission which they had themselves received, but conferred upon them a restricted and limited power. And moreover, in conferring it,

they did it not of their single independent authority, but in virtue of their corporate union, with one at their head, viz., Peter.

"Now, a little reflection would convince us that nothing less than *Apostolic* power could bestow jurisdiction; and that the question therefore is, *where* that *Apostolic* power has continued to reside; and consequently it might be sufficient to observe, that as *there were not many Episcopates, but one Episcopate, so there were not many sources of jurisdiction, but one source*; in other words, that the twelve Apostles were not twelve original sources of jurisdiction, but that, as the Episcopate had its origin in one, viz., Peter, so the source of jurisdiction was in the same; and that, in fact, HE ALONE OF ALL THE APOSTLES LEFT AN ACTUAL SUCCESSOR, who therefore succeeded not only to his *Apostolic* power, but to his headship or Supremacy over the Church.....If it was James the Apostle who was Bishop of Jerusalem, his successor in the See possessed not his *Apostolic*, but his *Episcopal* or *diocesan* power.....Whatever, therefore, may have been the discipline of the Church at different times, the real ultimate source of jurisdiction has ever been the same. By whomsoever conferred, jurisdiction has always been derived from the source which Christ established at the beginning, viz., Peter and his Successors. Each of the Apostles, in virtue of their universal mission, had, in union with Peter, the power of bestowing jurisdiction. But since they departed from the Church, the Pope alone possesses that power singly, which the *Episcopal* body possesses in *corporate union* with him; for it is thus only that the Bishops are the successors of the Apostles. The Pope is therefore *jure divino* the ultimate source of all ordinary jurisdiction, whether it be actually conferred by him or no. In the present discipline of the Church it is actually conferred by him."

The letters of St. Julius, extracts from which are given below, have the sanction of St. Athanasius' authority,

for it is to him that we are indebted for them. Here, however, we shall insert the testimony of Socrates and Sozomen, though they wrote in the following century, as it all bears upon the subject of the Pope's jurisdiction over the Eastern Church at this period, and the important influence that it had in maintaining Catholic truth when it was assailed on all sides.

XXIV. SOCRATES.

1. "Neither was Julius, Bishop of ancient Rome, there, [at the Synod of Antioch which deposed St. Athanasius,] nor did he send a representative, although the Ecclesiastical Canon commands THAT THE CHURCHES SHALL NOT MAKE ANY ORDINANCES WITHOUT THE SANCTION OF THE BISHOP OF ROME."—*Hist.* ii. 8.
2. "Athanasius, [escaping from the partisans of Gregory whom the Council of Antioch had made Bishop in his place,] immediately hastens to Rome. Eusebius having thus attained his object, sent a deputation to Julius, Bishop of Rome, begging that he would himself take cognizance of the charges against Athanasius, and order a judicial investigation to be made in his presence. Eusebius was prevented from knowing the decision of Julius, for he died a short time after."—*ii.* 15.
3. "After experiencing considerable difficulties, Athanasius at last reached Italy. At the same time also, Paul, Bishop of Constantinople, Asclepas of Gaza, Marcellus of Ancyra, a city of Galatia Minor, and Lucius of Adrianople, having been expelled from their several Churches on various charges, arrived at the Imperial City. There each laid his case before Julius, Bishop of Rome, who sent them back again into the East, restoring them to their respective Sees by virtue of his letter, IN THE EXERCISE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME'S PECULIAR PRI-

VILEGE: and at the same time, IN THE LIBERTY OF THAT PREROGATIVE, sharply rebuking those by whom they had been deposed."—*Ibid.*

4. "Relying on the authority of these documents, the Bishops depart from Rome and again take possession of their own Churches, forwarding the letters to the parties to whom they were addressed. These, considering themselves treated with indignity by Julius' reproaches, assemble at Antioch and dictate a reply to his letter as the expression of the Synod's unanimous feeling. *It was not his province, they said, to interfere.*"—*Ibid.* [So said the Arians. The Catholics, of course, thought it *was* his province. It is wonderful how heresy and jealousy of Rome have always gone together.]

5. [Athanasius is obliged to fly again. He conceals himself. Julius finds him out, and invites him to Rome. Meantime the letters from the Eusebians, at Antioch, had reached him, and others also from St. Athanasius' friends.] "On the receipt of these contradictory communications, Julius first replied to the Bishops who had written to him from Antioch, complaining of the acrimonious feeling they had evinced in their letter, and charging them with a *violation of the Canons*, in neglecting to request his attendance at the Council, seeing that BY ECCLESIASTICAL LAW, NO DECISIONS OF THE CHURCHES ARE VALID UNLESS SANCTIONED BY THE BISHOP OF ROME. He then censured them with great severity for clandestinely endeavouring to pervert the faith."—ii. 17.

6. [At the request of Paul and Athanasius, the Council of Sardica is held, which "confirmed the Nicene Creed," and reinstated them in their Sees. It confirmed also the custom of appealing to Rome, and made some laws for the guidance of Bishops in that matter. Athanasius returned, bearing with him a Pastoral letter from the Pope, and resumed his See.] "When these

things became known, Ursacius and Valens, who had been fiery partisans of Arianism, condemning their former zeal, proceeded to Rome, where they presented their recantation to Julius the Bishop."—ii. 37.

7. "Peter" (St. Athanasius' successor) "returned to that city from Rome with letters from Damasus, the Roman Bishop, in which he confirmed the *homocousian faith* and sanctioned Peter's ordination."—iv. 37.

XXV. SOZOMEN.

1. "Athanasius escaped and sailed to Rome."—iii. 6.
2. "Eusebius wrote to Julius, begging him to take cognizance of the decrees of Tyre against Athanasius; but before obtaining Julius's decision, and very shortly after the synod of Antioch, he died."—iii. 7.
3. "Athanasius having fled from Alexandria came to Rome, and at the same time came also Paul, Bishop of Constantinople, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Asclepas, of Gaza.....The Bishop of Rome, after enquiring into the case of each, and ascertaining the soundness of their faith, admitted them to communion. And SINCE, BECAUSE OF THE DIGNITY OF HIS SEE, THE CARE OF ALL BELONGED TO HIM, HE RESTORED EACH TO HIS OWN CHURCH. He wrote also to the Eastern Bishops, reprimanding them for their unjust decision, for causing confusion in the Church, and for neglecting the Canons of Nice. And at the same time he COMMANDED (*ἐκέλευσε*) a few of them to appear before him on a fixed day, that they might be informed of the justice of his decree. He threatened, too, that he would no longer endure their conduct, if they did not cease from their innovations. Thus wrote Julius. Athanasius, however, and Paul resumed their respective Sees, and sent Julius' letters to the Eastern Bishops.

The latter were mightily offended, and, after meeting at Antioch, wrote Julius an answer, flowery and full of duplicity, and containing a great deal of quibbling, nor did they refrain from angry menaces. They acknowledged, indeed, that *the Church of Rome was universally held in honour, as having been the school of the Apostles, and the metropolis of orthodoxy from the beginning*, though teachers from the East had taken up their abode there.....Then charging him with error in receiving Athanasius into communion, they expressed their indignation at the insult offered to their synod, by the reversal of its decree.—iii. 8.

4. "In reply to this letter, which he had received from the Bishop of Antioch, Julius wrote, reprimanding them for their clandestine attack upon the Nicene faith, and for violating the laws of the Church, in not inviting him to the synod, for IT WAS AN ECCLESIASTICAL LAW THAT WHATEVER WAS DONE WITHOUT THE SANCTION OF THE BISHOP OF ROME WAS NULL AND VOID.—iii. 10.

5. "This dispute" [about the Consubstantiality of the Holy Ghost] "having arisen, and, as was natural, gathering strength from day to day, through men's love of strife, the Bishop of Rome, when informed of it, wrote to the Churches of the East, that they should acknowledge the Trinity, one in substance and in glory, together with the Bishops of the West. Whereupon they all acquiesced, THE QUESTION BEING ONCE FOR ALL DECIDED BY THE CHURCH OF ROME, and the dispute to all appearance was brought to a close."—vi. 22.

and for the sake of our brethren who complain that they have suffered injustice; even in that case the proposal would have been reasonable and just, for it is agreeable to *Ecclesiastical practice, and well-pleasing to God.*"—*In St. Athanas. Apol. ad Constant.*

2. "We are forced to conclude that the terms in which you appear to pay honour to us are, with some dissimulation, made to have double meaning."—*Ibid.*

3. "He [Athanasius] came not of his own accord, but on a summons by letter from us, in the manner in which we wrote to you."—*Ibid.*

4. "And why was nothing said to us of the *Church of Alexandria* in particular? Are you ignorant that the custom has been for word to be written first to us, and then for a just sentence to be passed from this place? If then any suspicion rested upon the Bishop there, notice thereof ought to have been sent to the Church of this place; whereas, after neglecting to inform us, and proceeding on their own authority as they pleased, now they desire to obtain our concurrence in their decisions, though we never condemned them. Not so have the constitutions of Paul—[may not the Canons, which, according to our supposition in the notes on the Council of Nice, are lost, have been among these, whatever they were?]-not so have the traditions of the Fathers directed. This is another form of procedure, a NOVEL PRACTICE. [A novel practice at the beginning of the fourth century for the Church of Alexandria, the second Patriarchal See, to proceed in censuring their Bishop on their own authority, instead of obtaining a just sentence from Rome.] I pray you bear with me. What I write is for the common good; for what we have received from the blessed Apostle Peter that I signify to you; and I should not have written this, AS DEEMING THAT THESE THINGS WERE MANIFEST TO ALL MEN, had not these proceedings so disturbed us."—*Ibid.*

XXVI. ST. JULIUS. A.D. 342.

1. "Supposing that the Arians had not desired a Council, but that I had been the person to propose it in discouragement of those who had written to me,

5. "Having passed victorious through the perils of so many tribulations, he [Athanasius] is *now restored* to you, being pronounced innocent, *not by my voice only*, but by the voice of the whole Council."—*Ibid.*

XXVII. COUNCIL OF SARDICA. A.D. 347.

1. CANON III. "If judgment is passed upon any Bishop, and he thinks he has sufficient ground for referring the matter to another Council, let us honour the *shrine** of the Apostle St. Peter, by enacting that the parties who entertained the case shall write to Julius, Bishop of Rome, and if he judges that the trial shall be renewed, let it be renewed."
2. CANON IV. "To this be it added, that when a Bishop shall have been deposed by the neighbouring Bishops, and gives notice of an appeal to Rome, no Bishop shall, after such appeal, be placed in the deposed Bishop's See, until the case has been decided by the judgment of the Bishop of Rome."
3. CANON VII. "If a Bishop shall have been accused, and sentence passed by the Bishops of his own district, assembled in Council, and they shall have deposed him from his See,—if the said deposed Bishop shall appeal to the Bishop of Rome, and request a hearing, should it seem to him just that the case be tried anew, may he condescend to write to the Bishops of the adjoining province, bidding them to re-examine the whole case carefully, and decide according to the truth. But if the appealing Bishop shall by his petition implore the Bishop of Rome to send Presbyters 'E LATERE SUO,' the said Bishop of Rome will exercise his own discretion. And if he

shall decide that legates, invested with his authority, shall be sent to act with the Bishops, be it as he will. If, on the other hand, he is of opinion that the provincial Bishops shall suffice to put an end to the matter, let him do as seems best to his most wise judgment."

4. [In their letter to the Pope.] "For this will seem to be the best and most fitting, if the Lord's Priests from every province in the world refer to the HEAD, that is to the SEE of the APOSTLE PETER."

That these Canons were intended only to confirm a practice already observed in the Church, is evident from the quotations which have been adduced from Socrates, and Sozomen, and St. Athanasius. They seem to have been passed to silence the opposition of the Arians and other heretics, who (as at the Council of Antioch) had said that the Pope went out of his province in interfering with the decisions of distant Bishops.

Judgment *was* passed upon St. Athanasius by a Council of Eastern Bishops some few years before this Council of Sardica. St. Athanasius *did* appeal to Rome;—and the Pope *did* restore him by virtue of the authority of his See.

St. Julius had said, A.D. 342, as we have seen, that the *custom* had been to appeal to Rome, and for a just sentence to be passed from that place;—that it was a *NOVEL* practice to depose a Bishop without the Pope's sanction; and all this he urged on the ground of a tradition from St. Peter.

The Council of Sardica was in fact a *continuation* of the Council of Nice. Nearly the same Bishops were present, and it was summoned in defence of the Church against the same heretics. This is the only way to account for three facts—1st, that the Council was not reckoned by the early Church among the Œcumenical Councils; 2dly, that its Canons were cited as Nicene Canons; 3dly, that, by the title of the Council of Sardica, some of the Fathers under-

* Such is the common meaning of the word "memoria" in the Ecclesiastical language of the day. See, for instance, the account of the miracles worked at the "memoria" of St. Stephen, in St. Augustine.—*De civ. Dei, ch. xxi.*

stood the Arian Council held simultaneously at Philippopolis.

As the Council of Nice *decided* upon the Catholic doctrine of our Lord's Divinity, so the Council of Sardica *decided* upon the Catholic doctrine of the Papal Supremacy. To say that, by the votes of the assembled Bishops, Supremacy was *conferred* on the Pope, is just as untrue as to say that by the votes of the same Bishops, twenty-two years before, Divinity had been conferred upon Christ.

The following is a good specimen of Protestant reasoning:—

"I do not know a stronger argument that could be adduced to annihilate the pretensions, by Divine right, and succession from St. Peter, to universal jurisdiction over the Church, which are set up for the Bishop of Rome, than the fact, that we can lay our hands upon the very Canon of a Council which, so late as the year of our Lord 347, allowed to the then Bishop of Rome, for the first time and for the convenience of the Church, a privilege which had never before been granted. It rested with the pleasure of the Bishops then present whether they would allow it or not; and I repeat, that this single fact is convincing evidence that the Bishops there assembled, Eastern and Western, knew nothing of the doctrine of Papal Supremacy."*

So speaks a Protestant of the Sardican decree. Let his Protestantism be but a little more developed, and he will say something of the same sort concerning that of Nice. Would the subjoined paragraph, we ask, be one whit more unreasonable?

"I do not know a stronger argument

* *Allwood's Lectures*—page 118. The writer would take this opportunity of saying, that it formed no part of his object to answer the "Lectures on the Papal Claim." This was done, soon after they appeared, by one to whom great credit is due, as well for the courtesy with which he replied to the sneers and rude invectives of his unscrupulous antagonist, as for the skill with which he managed his difficult task. Few things require more ability than to provide a judicious answer to a book, which sets not truth only, but all logic and common sense at utter defiance.

that could be adduced to annihilate the dogma of the Divinity of Christ, than the fact that we can lay our hands upon the very decree of a Council, which, so late as the year of our Lord 325, allowed to Christ, for the first time and for the convenience of the Church, the privilege of being called 'Homoeousian,' which had never before been granted,—nay, which had been positively objected to by an orthodox Council shortly before. It rested with the pleasure of the Bishops then present, whether they would allow it or not, and this single fact is convincing evidence that the Bishops there assembled knew nothing of the doctrine of Consubstantiality."

This is what Socinians,—the only consistent Protestants,—do say, and they maintain, in support of *their* Protestantism, what Anglicans maintain about *theirs*, viz., that it was the religion of the Ante-Nicene Church. When testimonies are produced to refute them, they do just what Anglicans do in their controversy with Catholics. They take them one by one, and explain them away.

But as we have suffered an Anglican to speak in his own words of the Council of Sardica, we will call upon a Socinian to speak, also in his own words, of the Council of Nice. The fellow-Protestants must have many grounds for sympathy.

"Three hundred and eighteen Bishops," says the Rev. J. Nightingale, "besides a considerable number of inferior clergy, and other Church officers, with the Roman Emperor in the midst, voted into orthodoxy the curious and mysterious dogmas still known and read in all our Churches, called the Nicene Creed."

On the intimate connection between the preservation of the orthodox faith and the confirmation of Catholic discipline, Mr. Milman has the following remarkable passage:—

"The Athanasian controversy powerfully contributed to establish the Supremacy of the Roman Pontiff. It became almost a contest between Eastern

and Western Christendom.....It was necessary that some one great Prelate should take the lead in this internecine strife.....Rome became the centre of the ecclesiastical affairs of the West, and since the Trinitarians opinions eventually triumphed through the whole of Christendom, the firmness and resolution with which the Roman Pontiffs, notwithstanding the temporary fall of Liberius, adhered to the orthodox faithmight be one ground for that belief in their infallibility which.....became throughout the west the inalienable spiritual heir-loom of the Roman Pontiffs. Christian history will hereafter show how powerfully this monarchical principle, if not established, yet greatly *strengthened*, (that is, developed) by these consequences of the Athanasian controversy, tended to consolidate and so to maintain, in *still expanding* influence, the Christianity of Europe."—*B. iii. ch. 5.*

Before taking leave of this Council, it may be as well to notice the charge of Protestants that it erred in acquitting Marcellus of Ancyra, who is said to have been a heretic. No argument could be founded upon such a charge if it were true, for neither Popes nor Councils, according to the Catholic doctrine, derive their knowledge of facts otherwise than by the ordinary methods. Their infallibility consists in the power of determining *what is heresy* rather than *who are heretics*. If, from an error of *fact*, an individual is admitted into communion with the Church, though in reality he is a heretic, such communion would not avail for his salvation. And in the same way one who, from error of fact, is excommunicated, would not thereby be shut out from the grace of God. But in the present instance there probably was no error. The testimony of St. Athanasius to the orthodoxy of Marcellus is so decided, that it is reasonable to suppose his zeal against the Arians led him to use injudicious expressions, which brought him into suspicion among those who judged only from his writings. Many of the greatest

Fathers are against him, but their testimony can scarcely have weight against that of St. Julius, St. Athanasius, and the Bishops at Sardica.

XXVIII. ST. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM. A.D. 351.

1. "Peter, the chiefest and first of the Apostles, before a little maid thrice denied the Lord."—*Cat. Lect. ii. 19.*
2. "And when all were silent, for it was beyond man's reach to learn, Peter, the leader of the Apostles, and Chief Herald of the Church....."—*xi. 3.*
3. "In the power of the Holy Spirit Peter also, the Chief of the Apostles, the bearer of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, healed Æneas."—*xvii. 27.*
4. "Elias truly was taken up into Heaven, but Peter has the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."—*xiv. 26.*

Anglican writers are fond of maintaining that St. Cyril, St. Basil, and the other Fathers who adhered to St. Meletius of Antioch, while a rival Bishop had the support of the Holy See,—"lived and died out of the communion of Rome."

The following answer of Doctor Wiseman's seems to be quite satisfactory. It certainly *would* be satisfactory to any one who was not determined to make the most of difficulties on the side of truth, to justify himself in not embracing it:—

"The real facts of the case are these: During the thickest part of the Arian controversy, there was a dispute for the Bishopric of Antioch between Meletius and Paulinus, two orthodox Catholics, each of whom had episcopal consecration, and was supported by a considerable number of followers. Each party fancied that there were sufficient reasons for throwing doubts on the orthodoxy of the opposite party. Paulinus was accused of favouring the heresy of Marcellus; Meletius was supposed to favour

Arianism. At the same time a third person, Vitalis, an Apollinarian heretic, laid claim to the throne of Antioch. ALL THREE CLAIMANTS PROFESSED TO ADHERE TO THE ROMAN PONTIFF.* The dispute, therefore, let it be clearly understood, was between two parties in Antioch, each of which had partisans elsewhere, and not, as is often most erroneously supposed, between St. Meletius and the Pope. For a long time it was impossible to know which party was favoured at Rome; but the orthodoxy of Paulinus being fully established, the Church of Rome rejected the communion of the (supposed) Arian Meletius. The friends of Meletius being still convinced of his orthodoxy, and, as they conceived, of the heterodox tendencies of Paulinus, and having the very best reasons for believing that their enemies had grossly misrepresented St. Meletius, naturally supposed themselves free from the obligation of complying with a decision palpably founded on a vital error of fact. And no one questions that in so doing, (abstraction being made of individual frailty,) they were perfectly right; and that were it possible, which it is not, for similar circumstances to occur at the present day, Catholic Bishops would be justified in acting as some of the Fathers did in support of St. Meletius. The party of St. Meletius never for a moment denied the Supremacy of the Pope, but, on the contrary, moved heaven and earth to acquaint him with the real facts of the case, and to obtain a decision in their favour....The dispute between Paulinus and Meletius was at length amicably terminated; and it was not till after this that Meletius was called to the Council of Constantinople, at which time he was in full communion with Rome. It is therefore utterly irreconcilable with fact to speak of him as a Saint who lived and died out of communion with Rome. And those who wish to establish a parallel case between the Church of Antioch in his day, and

that of the Church of England since the Reformation, must prove that they have agreed in the minutest articles of faith with the Church of Rome, and have openly professed to adhere to the Popes during the whole of this period."

XXIX. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. A.D. 352.

"When Liberius, who was of the same sentiments as the rest, was, by order of the Emperor, advised to append his signature to the deposition of Athanasius, he resolutely refused, declaring repeatedly that it would be an act of the last injustice to condemn one whom he had neither seen nor heard. Indeed he openly resisted the Emperor's will. For the latter, ever an enemy of Athanasius, though he knew these measures were carried against him, nevertheless ardently desired that they should be confirmed BY THE AUTHORITY, IN WHICH THE BISHOPS OF THE ETERNAL CITY ARE PRE-EMINENT."

A better witness than this to the *historical fact* that in his day the Pope's Supremacy was generally recognized could not be desired. Marcellinus was a Pagan, and his testimony is therefore wholly unbiassed.

As the name of LIBERIUS is now before us, this will be the best place to notice the arguments against the authority of the Holy See, drawn from the circumstances of his history.

We have already had occasion to observe that the Infallibility of the Pope is not an article of faith, and to caution the reader against the common error of confounding his *Infallibility* with his *Supremacy*, which is an article of faith. Just as we are bound to receive the Holy Sacraments at the hands of our Priest, no matter what his opinions or his character may be, because he is to us, so he be duly ordained, a channel of grace;—so are we bound to adhere to the individual who occupies the Chair of Peter,

* See St. Damasus, Quotation 2. See, also, Theodoret, Hist. Eccles. Lib. V., ch. 3.

under all circumstances, as an appointed means whereby we partake of what St. Cyprian calls the "SACRAMENTUM UNITATIS." Neither the faith nor the morals of the person in whom the office is vested can prevent him from being the centre of unity, and the Supreme Pastor of the Church, provided he be the legitimate Bishop of Rome. His office is effectual, because of Christ's institution and appointment, even when it is held by unworthy men.

If this is thoroughly understood, it will be seen that Liberius' history does not in the slightest degree affect the question, on the subject of which we are citing the witnesses of Antiquity. Had he issued a decree *ex Cathedra* in favour of Arianism, the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility would be unquestionably overthrown. Doubtless if such a contingency were possible, the Church would be directed by God to provide the fitting remedy for so great an evil.* One can *imagine* the Church to have the power, in such a case, of declaring the See vacant. One can *imagine* that it might be her duty to do as our Lord bade the Jews to do with respect to those who sat in Moses' seat;—viz., to submit to his will in all lawful things, but neither "to do after his works," nor to believe after his faith. To one who firmly holds that such a case never could occur, it is painful even to speak of the contingency; but it has seemed right to do so, to show that the supposition of its possibility need be no difficulty in the way of receiving the doctrine, which the Church proposes for our belief.

As a matter of fact, no Pope ever has propounded heresy *ex Cathedra*. Liberius, indeed, did not even *hold* any heretical doctrine. All that he can justly be accused of is a want of moral courage in allowing himself for a time to censure a man whom he believed to be

right, and to sign a document which, though orthodox in its terms,* he knew was to be construed into an approval of heresy. Protestants are fond of quoting the anathemas against Liberius, which are found among St. Hilary's Fragments. If these *were* his, they must have been written when he imagined Liberius really to have fallen, and, in such case, he would no longer count him the true Bishop of Rome. But it is almost certain that they are interpolations. The fragments were written after Liberius had repented, and strenuously defended the Catholic faith against the Council of Ariminum, so that the anathemas would have been manifestly unjust. It will be seen that, in those Fragments, Rome is called the "Head," and the "See of the Apostle Peter."

XXX. ST. HILARY. A.D. 353.

1. "The fear of the Apostles was so excited by the humiliation of the Passion, that the very rock itself on which the Church was to be built trembled....."—*Ed. Ben. p. 545, C.*
2. "He called by the reproachful name of Satan, Peter, the first confessor of the Son of God, the foundation of the Church, the doorkeeper of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Heavenly Judge in earthly judgments."—*p. 447, D.*
3. "The blessed Simon who, after the confession of the mystery, lay as a foundation for the building up of the Church, and received the keys of Heaven."—*p. 891, E.*
4. "For he was the first to believe, and is the Prince of the Apostolate."—*p. 642, B.*
5. "It is evident that the reason why the confession of Peter received due reward was because he had recognized in man the Son of God. Blessed is

* "Les hommes qui s'amuse à faire de nos jours ces sortes de suppositions, quoique pendant dix-huit cent trente-six ans elles ne se soient jamais réalisées, sont bien ridicules ou bien coupables."—*De Maistre.*

* It is proved from St. Hilary's Fragments that Liberius signed only the *first* "Formula fidei" put forth by the Council of Sirmium, and this will bear a Catholic sense.

he who was praised for having penetrated and seen beyond the range of human vision,—seeing not that which was of flesh and blood, but discovering the Son of God by revelation from the Father of Heaven,—and deemed worthy of being the first to acknowledge what was in the Christ of God. O thou foundation of the Church, happy in the gift of a new name, and thou rock worthy of the building of that which should destroy the infernal laws and the gates of hell, and all the strongholds of death. O blessed doorkeeper of Heaven, to whose discretion are delivered the keys of the Eternal Way, whose earthly judgment is the anticipated authority of Heaven, so that they who on earth have been bound or loosed, shall obtain in Heaven too the portion of the same sentence.”—p. 690, *D*.

6. “By the confession of his blessed faith, he merited pre-eminent glory.”—p. 904, *C*.
7. [The Council of Sardica to Pope Julius.] “There was an honourable and necessary reason for your absence, lest either schismatical wolves should creep in unawares and make havoc, or heretical dogs should howl with the rabid fury of excited madness, or lest that serpent the Devil should pour in the poison of blasphemies. For this will seem to be a most excellent practice, and in the highest degree becoming, if the Lord’s Priests from every province in the world, have recourse to the Head, that is, to the See of the Apostle Peter.”—p. 1290, *C*.

XXXI. COUNCIL OF ARIMINUM. A.D. 359.

“This is testified by their own writings and by the pardon granted by the Church at the time when the synod was convened at Milan, at which the *Presbyters of the Church of Rome were present*.”
These words can only be added to give

authority to the Council of Milan. They are very striking when compared with the reason which Theodoret gives, among others, to account for the fact that this Council of Ariminum was of no weight. The reason is in a letter from Damasus and ninety Bishops of the West, which we shall have occasion to quote presently.

XXXII. ST. EPHREM SYRUS. A.D. 360.

1. “I know in what manner Peter, the Prince and Head of the Apostles, [Princeps et vertex Apostolorum] by weeping bitterly obtained pardon, and retained the headship.”—*De Compunct*.
2. “Peter thou art blessed, who didst obtain in the body of thy brethren, the place of the head and tongue, which body was composed of the disciples and children of thy master”—*Ibid*.
3. “Simon was sent to found the Church in the whole world.”—*In Transfig. Dom. S. ii. p. 25*.
4. “Peter, who was called Cephas, who was captured on the borders of the lake, and who received a testimony from the great Pastor, that on this rock I will build my Church, by means of the priesthood received the keys of Heaven, as being worthy of them.”—*De Sac. S. iii. p. 3*.
5. “Hail to thee, Peter! the tongue of the Disciples, the voice of the Heralds, the eye of the Apostles, the guardian of Heaven, the first-born of those who bear the keys.”—*In SS. Apos. S. iii. p. 464*.
6. “Have they not even respected the sentence of the Apostle, who condemns such as say, ‘I am of Cephas?’ Now if it was the duty of the sheep to refuse even the name of Cephas, although he was Prince of the Apostles, and had received the keys, and was accounted the shepherd of the flock, what execration is to be deemed

too dreadful for him who fears not to designate sheep that are not his by his own name?"—*Ibid.*

7. "Thee, O Simon Peter, will I proclaim the blessed, who holdest the keys, which the Spirit made. A great and ineffable word, that he binds and looses those in heaven, and those under the earth. Blessed the flock committed to thy care! How much has it increased!"—*Hom. in Sanct. Ap.*

XXXIII. ST. DAMASUS. A.D. 366.

1. "As soon as the Arian heresy began to reach that pitch which the Arian blasphemy has now attained, 218 of our Fathers, *with delegates from the Bishop of Rome*, deliberated on the subject at Nice."—*Synodical letter to the Bishops of Illyria, from a Council at Rome, signed by St. Damasus and ninety Bishops from Italy and Gaul.*
2. "The number of those assembled at Ariminum ought not to occasion any prejudice against the truth, because they assembled without the sanction either of the BISHOP OF ROME, *whose opinion ought to have been consulted before that of any other Bishops, or, &c.*"—*Ibid.*
3. "In that your charity pays the due reverence to the Apostolical See, ye profit the most yourselves, most honoured sons. For, if, placed as we are in that holy Church in which the Holy Apostle sat and taught how it becometh us to direct the helm to which we have succeeded, we nevertheless confess ourselves to be unequal to that honour; yet do we therefore study as we may, if so be we may be able to attain to the glory of his blessedness.....Know, therefore, that we have long since DEPOSED the profane Timothy [a Greek Bishop], the disciple of the heretic Apollinaris, together with his impious doctrine, and we trust that what remains thereof will be powerless for the fu-

ture.....We have, once for all, issued a declaration, [or confession of faith,] that he who professes himself a Christian may keep that which has been handed down from the Apostles..... Wherefore, then, do ye again ask for the deposition of Timothy, who hath here been already DEPOSED, together with his master Apollinaris, BY THE SENTENCE OF THE APOSTOLICAL SEE, in the presence of Peter, the Bishop of Alexandria, and await the punishments and tortures due to him at the judgment day.....May God preserve you in health, my much honoured Sons."—*Theod. v. 10.*

So was it that the Roman Pontiff addressed the *Eastern* Prelates little more than 300 years since the foundation of the Church, and it is recorded without a word of surprise or disapproval by a Greek historian. The expressions with which he introduces the letter are as follows:—"When the entirely praiseworthy Damasus learned that this heresy had sprung up, he deposed and excommunicated, not only Apollinaris, but Timotheus his disciple."

XXXIV. AMBROSIASTER. A.D. 366.

"The Church is God's house, whose ruler at this time is Damasus."—*In 1 Tim. iii. 14, 15.*
He was a Pelagian.

XXXV. CAIUS MARIUS VICTORINUS. A.D. 366.

"After three years,' he says, 'I went to Jerusalem,'—and then adds the reason,—'to see Peter.' For, if on Peter was laid the foundation of the Church, as it is said in the Gospel, to whom all things were revealed, Paul knew that he ought to see Peter, as one to whom so great authority had been given by Christ, and not in

order to learn anything from him."—*In Gal. i. 15.*

This was an African writer named by St. Jerome, (*De Vir. Illust. cap. ci.*), and by St. Augustine. (*Confess. l. viii. c. 2.*) His comment on the Galatians is named by St. Jerome in his Prol. ad Gal. The extract given above is taken from Klee's Treatise on the Church. The reference in Mr. Waterworth's "Faith of Catholics" is to Mai's *Script. Vet. Nov. Collect. l. iii.*

XXXVI. ST. EPIPHANIUS. A.D. 368.

1. "Andrew met with Christ before Peter, who was younger. But later, when that perfect renunciation of all things took place on their parts, from Peter was the beginning made. For then he became a leader to his own brother; and add this also, that God knows the dispositions of the heart, and, knowing who is worthy to be appointed to precedence, He also chose Peter to be the leader of His disciples."—*Adv. Har. 51.*
2. "Peter, the great head of the Apostles, truly became to us a firm rock whercon is based the faith of the Lord, upon which the Church is in every way built."—*Ibid.*
3. "Afterwards again, when their perfect organization was formed, Peter was made the centre of unity." [*απο του ι Πιτρου η συναντησις γινενται*].—*Ibid.*
4. "The Lord appointed Peter, the first of the Apostles, a firm rock, on which the Church of God was built, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: for the gates of hell are heresies and heresiarchs."—*In Ancorat. v.*
5. "He, to whom was committed the flock, and who guides us securely in the power of the Lord, his master."—*Ibid. ix.*
6. "Ursacius and Valens did penance, and betook themselves with their writings to blessed Julius the Bishop

of Rome, to give an account of their fault and faithlessness."—*Adv. Hares. lxxiii.*

XXXVII. ST. BASIL, THE GREAT. A.D. 368.

1. "Blessed Peter, set over all the disciples, to whom alone are given testimonies greater than to the other, who is pronounced blessed, to whom were committed the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."—*Adv. Eunom. ii.*
2. "Peter was called from being a fisherman to be an Apostle, and because of the greatness of his faith, received upon himself the fabric of the Church."—*Ibid.*
3. [To St. Damasus, Bishop of Rome]. "Nearly the whole East, most reverend Father, by which I mean the country from Illyricum to Egypt, labours under a heavy storm and surge. We have been expecting a visitation from your tender compassion as the one remedy of these evils. Your extraordinary love has in past time ever charmed our souls, and they were encouraged for a while by the glad report that there was to be a visitation from you. Send persons like-minded with us, either to reconcile the parties at variance and bring the Churches of God to unity, or at least to give you a clearer understanding of the authors of confusion: so that you may be sure in future with whom it is fitting to hold communion. WE ARE IN NO WISE ASKING ANY THING NEW, but what was customary with blessed and religious men of former times, and especially with yourself. For we know by tradition of our fathers, of whom we have enquired, and from the information of writings still preserved among us, that Dionysius, that most blessed Bishop, while he was eminent among you for orthodoxy and other virtues, sent letters of visitation to our Church at Cæsarea, and

of consolation to our fathers, with ransomers of our brethren from captivity."—*Ep. lxx.*

4. [To the Western Bishops]. "We have one Lord, one faith, one hope. Whether you regard yourselves as the Head of the universal Church, the head can not say to the members, I have no need of you; or whether you place yourselves among the rest of the Ecclesiastical members, you can not say to us who are constituted in the same body with yourselves, you are not necessary to us."—*Ep. xc.*

5. "It seemed fit to us to write to the Bishop of Rome, to beg that he would visit our affairs, and interpose a decree of his judgment, that as it is difficult for any persons to be sent thenceabout the Council's decision, he himself may give authority to chosen men, (men able to bear the toil of the journey, and to reprove with mildness and firmness the perverse tempers of some that are here—men of becoming and prudent words, who are well acquainted with whatever has taken place,) to bring with them the acts of the Council of Ariminum, and modify them where they seem to be harsh."—*Ep. lii. ad Athanas.*

6. "Eustathius of Sebaste, on being deposed at Melitina, took measures to effect his restoration. He went to you. We are not aware of what passed between him and the Bishop of Rome, or to what terms they came. All we know is that he brought a letter, on the production of which to the Council of Thyana, he was restored to his See."—*Ep. cclxiii.*

However ingeniously such evidences as these may be weakened by those who adopt the explaining-away system, through which any facts admit of being shaped to suit a theory, they must and will have great force with any candid reader, who will set them side by side with what we have already seen in the witness of St. Athanasius and the Eastern historians. St. Damasus, it is true, *might* be requested "to visit the

affairs of the East" merely as the Bishop of an important See. His "extraordinary love" for the Eastern Churches *might* be no more than the love borne by *any* Bishop for the whole Christian world. He *might* be requested to send legates to restore peace, only because the Eastern heretics stood in awe of the Western capital. St. Basil *might* be especially anxious to be recognized by him, only because he thought to be thus more powerful against the Arians. That applications of this kind to Rome were nothing new, *might* be because Rome had always been the capital of the world. Dionysius *might*, upon the strength of its civil dignity, have sent letters of Visitation to Cæsarea. The Italian Bishops *might* have considered their Church the Head of the universal Church, only because of its situation as the Seat of the Imperial Government. The Pope *might* have had the power of altering the decrees of a general Council by his own authority, on the same ground. And for the same reason his letters *might* have great weight in restoring Bishops.

All that can be said to this is, that if any one *thinks* so, it is impossible to contradict him. He is quite welcome to his opinion, but at the same time he must give us leave to suspect either that his mind has never as yet comprehended the collateral evidence against such a view, or that he is so pre-determined to bend all facts to his own notions, as to be incapable of forming a true judgment.

St. Basil's anger with the Pope and the Western Bishops for their neglect, real or apparent, of the affairs of the East,—and the little respect that he seems to have had for any personal qualities in St. Damasus, give peculiar weight to his evidence.*

* BELLARMINE (*De Rom. Pontiff. iv. 5*) maintains that Popes may commit errors in their government; and M. DE MAISTRE, in modern days, quotes with entire approbation, a passage from BOURDALOUE, in which among the glories of St. Bernard, one is "Reprimandant des Papes." *Du Pape, Discours Prelimi-*

In St. Damasus' own testimony, we have seen an assertion of the Papal claim, and the exercise of his supreme authority. That of St. Basil, of Ambrosius, of St. Jerome, and of the second General Council, *confirms* his claim. Can it be for a moment believed that any one of these witnesses would have spoken as they did to or of St. Damasus, if their view of his asserted authority had been similar to that of Barrow, or Stillingfleet, or Laud? If even *silence* and submission would imply assent to the claim, what must we think of such explicit yielding as we see in their writings and in their acts?

XXXVIII. THE EMPEROR GRATIAN. A.D. 370.

This Emperor decreed that the Churches, which the Arians had usurped, should be restored, not to those who held "the Catholic faith," or "the Nicene Creed," or were "in communion with the *orbis terrarum*," but "who chose the communion of Damasus,"* the then Pope.

XXXIX. THEODOSIUS I. A.D. 370.

By this Emperor an edict was published, of which the following is an extract:—

"We desire that all people over whom our clemency rules should hold the faith which the religion that has come down

naire.—(See *Dublin Review*, No. xxiv., page 457.)

Doubtless had the following words been found in a letter of St. Basil's, they would have been quoted against Catholics with great triumph:—"I fear, Damasus, lest the multitude of affairs, prayer and meditation being intermitted, should bring thee to a hard heart." Substitute "Eugenius" for "Damasus," and the words are St. Bernard's. Will it be maintained that he "knew nothing of the doctrine of Papal Supremacy?"

* Theod. Hist. V. 2.

to the present time declares the *Apostle Peter* to have delivered to the Romans, and which it is evident that the High Priest Damasus follows."

XL. ST. OPTATUS. A.D. 370.

1. "Examine into the origin of these things, and you will find that you have maintained this doctrine [i. e., that schismatics are cut off from the vine,] against yourselves. For Cæcilian did not go out from your predecessor Majorinus, but Majorinus from Cæcilian; NOR DID CÆCILIAN SECEDE FROM THE CHAIR OF PETER OR OF CYPRIAN; but Majorinus, in whose chair you sit, and which, before Majorinus himself, had no origin."—*Lib. i. ch. 10.*
2. "Neither do any heretics hold the keys which were committed to Peter alone."—*Ibid.*
3. "Thou hast done well to close the garden against heretics; thou hast done well to restore the keys to Peter."—*i. 12.*
4. "FOR THE SAKE OF UNITY the blessed Peter both merited to be set over all the Apostles, and alone received the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to be communicated to the rest."—*Lib. vii.*
5. "St. Paul had seen this love in the other Apostles who, for the sake of unity through charity, were unwilling to secede from the communion of Peter, of him, that is, who had denied Christ."—*Ibid.*
6. "You can not pretend to be ignorant of the fact that in the City of ROME to Peter first was committed the chair of episcopal authority, IN WHICH HE WAS TO SIT AS THE HEAD OF ALL THE APOSTLES, Peter, whence his name of Cephas; IN WHICH ONE CHAIR UNITY MIGHT BE PRESERVED BY ALL, lest the other Apostles should support their respective chairs, in order that he might be at once a schismatic and a sinner, who against that

single chair placed another. Therefore THAT ONE CHAIR, WHICH IS THE FIRST OF THE CHURCH'S NOTES, Peter filled first, to whom succeeded Linus, to Linus Clement, to Clement, &c., &c.....to Damasus Siricius, who at this day is associated with us, TOGETHER WITH WHOM* the whole world is in accordance with us in the one bond of communion by the intercourse of letters of peace. And now let us hear the origin of *your* chair, you who claim Holy Church for yourselves. But *you, too, pretend to have some part in the City of Rome.* A petty offshoot it is of your error, springing from a lie, not from the root of truth. Suppose Macrobius were asked where it is that he sits there, could he possibly say in the chair of Peter? I know not, indeed, that he ever even saw it with his eyes, and like a schismatic, as he is, *he worships not at their shrine, thus opposing the Apostle who says "memoriis sanctorum communicantes."* Why, there are there on the spot the shrines of two Apostles. Could he, pray, resort to these; or *has he ever offered the sacrifice at the place where it is known are the Saints' shrines?* It remains, then, that your friend Macrobius must confess that he occupies the seat which formerly Eucolpius occupied. If, too, Eucolpius himself could be asked, he would say he filled the same that Boniface Ballitanus filled before him. He again, if we could ask him, would say, the same which Victor Garbensis filled when he was sent by your people from Africa some time ago to join a few tourists. How is it that your sect in the city of Rome can not have a citizen for its Bishop? How is it that they are all Africans and foreigners

* i.e., "through whom." The Churches were kept in communion with each other by communicating with him. We have St. Augustine's testimony to the fact that all "For-mate," or letters of Communion passed through the Pope.—See under St. Augustine, Quotation 45. See also St. Ambrose, Quotation 21.

who succeed each other in that city? Is not the artifice manifest, the party spirit which is the mother of schism? I do not, however, mean to say that the reason Victor Garbensis was sent from this country was *that he might be a stone thrown into the fountain:—* [i.e., to be a new centre of unity at Rome. This was a mere after-thought.] It was simply because the town residence was agreeable to certain Africans, and they requested that somebody might be sent to preside at their meetings. [Just as English residents there now have their chaplain.] Victor was accordingly sent. There he was, a son without a father, a novice without a guide, a pupil without a master, a successor without a predecessor, a tenant without a house, a guest without a host, a Pastor without a flock, a Bishop without a people. For a flock or a people they could not be called, a mere handful of persons, who, among all the forty and more of Churches that are there, could not find a place for themselves to assemble in. So they enclosed a wretched hole outside the walls which they contrived to make into a temporary conventicle. From this place they got the name of 'Montenses.' Since it is clear, then, that Claudius succeeded Lucian, Lucian Macrobius, Macrobius Eucolpius, Eucolpius Boniface, and Boniface Victor;—if Victor were asked what chair he filled, he could not show that anybody was there before him, nor could he show any chair but a 'Cathedra pestilentiae.' For the plague sends men who have died of the disease to hell, which hell is known to have its gates; and against these gates it is that, we read, Peter received the gates of salvation, our Prince, I mean, to whom it was said by Christ, "Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, et portæ inferorum non vincent eas." How is it, THEN, THAT YOU TRY TO USURP THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, WHO, IN YOUR PRESUMPTION AND BOLD-

NESS, SACRILEGIOUSLY WAR AGAINST THE CHAIR OF PETER?"—ii. 3—5.

Let any one fairly weigh this last passage, and then, if he is familiar with the Protestant explanation of it, say whether a more unsatisfactory piece of special pleading was ever set forth as a grave argument. If the mode of reasoning adopted by St. Optatus' Protestant commentators be tolerated, there is no text of Holy Scripture, and no testimony of antiquity that may not be readily explained away.

St. Optatus, in a plain straightforward manner, sets forth the "notes" of the Church, and the See of *Rome*, he says, is the first and most important.

His testimony may be summed up thus:—

I. The authority of the Episcopate issued from *Rome* in the first instance, where St. Peter held his seat as the Head of the Apostles.

II. This one seat was established in order to the preservation of unity by the whole Church, lest the chairs established in the other Apostolical Churches should be regarded as equally centres of unity.

III. Whoever sets up any ecclesiastical authority in opposition to that See is a schismatic.

IV. That one See is the chief note of the Church.

V. It is occupied by the Popes in succession.

VI. The Catholic Church is in communion with the Pope.

Thus much he says in the form of dogmatic declaration. Then he turns to the Donatists and asks what chair of authority *they* have. And what is their answer? Why, that *they*, too, have a Bishop at *Rome*. He knew very well that this was an after-thought. Their Bishop was not sent with that object; not, as he says, thrown as a pebble into that pure fountain or source of ecclesiastical authority; but only (like the Protestant chaplain in modern days) to minister to a few travellers in a conventicle outside the walls. They had,

however, a Bishop at *Rome*, and at last they found it convenient to make much of the fact as an argument, maintaining that he sat in the *Cathedra Petri*. St. Optatus well shows the absurdity of this presumption; but there would have been no meaning in their claim if it had not been for the Catholic doctrine that *Rome* is the source of authority.

It was not the successors of Majorinus at Carthage, but those of Victor at *Rome*, who were said to occupy the *Cathedra Petri*.

St. Optatus replies by shewing that they were not the actual successors of that Apostle in the See of *Rome*; nay, that they could not even set their eyes on the material chair of the Apostle, nor worship at his shrine.

If their schism had consisted merely in *intrusion*, why need St. Optatus have gone all the way to *Rome*?* Carthage would have done as well or better. But the fact is, this notion of intrusion being the very essence of schism is a modern expedient for getting over a difficulty. That the theory was unknown to the ancients may be gathered from the history of this very schism; for Pope Milchiades, in his anxiety to prevent the schism of the Donatists, offered to permit Cæcilian and Majorinus to exercise severally the Episcopal office at Carthage, each over his own flock; and instances of the same kind were by no means unfrequent.

It cannot be denied that all the Fathers speak of external unity. Do they mean "one Kingdom at unity with itself, with one intelligence, one sympathy, one principle, one organization, one communion," or "a number of independent communities at variance, if so be, with each other, even to breach of communion, but possessed of a succession of clergy, and governed by Bishops, Priests and Deacons?" Now, "who will seriously maintain that relationship, or that resemblance makes two

* Let it be well observed, too, that it was not St. Optatus who chose *Rome* by way of argument, but the *Donatists* who could have no occasion for speaking of *Rome* at all, unless for the obvious one, that *Rome* is the centre of unity.

bodies one? England and Prussia are both monarchies; are they, therefore, one Kingdom? England and the United States are from one stock; can they, therefore, be called one State? England and Ireland are peopled by different races; yet, are they not one Kingdom still? If unity lies in the Apostolical succession (which the Donatists had) an act of schism is from the nature of the case impossible; for, as no one can reverse his parentage, so no Church can undo the fact that its clergy have come by lineal descent from the Apostles. Either there is no such sin as schism, or unity does not lie in the Episcopal form, or in Episcopal ordination. And this is felt by the controversialists alluded to; who, in consequence, are obliged to *invent* a sin, and to consider not division of Church from Church, but the interference of Church with Church to be the sin of schism, as if local dioceses and Bishops with restraint were more than ecclesiastical arrangements and by-laws of the Church, however sacred, while schism is a sin against her essence. Thus they strain out a gnat and swallow a camel. *Division* is the schism, if schism there be, not interference. If interference is a sin, division, which is the cause of it, is a greater; but where division is a duty there can be no sin in interference.”—(*Essay on Development*.)

The absurdity of dwelling so much on “altar against altar,” in a particular place, is well shown in the following extract from the *British Critic*, No. 67, p. 33:—

“Where real and serious difference in doctrine is acknowledged, expressions are used which seem to attach less importance to such difference than to some formal irregularity. It is sometimes implied, for instance, that the mass of Roman Catholics are by the necessary result of their religion, practically idolaters, and yet that it is forbidden to English Churchmen to attempt making converts among them, because they are governed by Bishops. Or, *vice versâ*, when Roman Catholics have considered

our state in England to be so deplorable as until very lately they *have* thought it, and have displayed great zeal in proselytising, objection is made to their proceedings, *not* because they are *mistaken*, in thinking us so deeply plunged in error (which would be a most intelligible ground,) but because they are ‘setting up altar against altar.’”

The phrase “Apostolical Succession” means with Anglicans something very different from what was intended by the same phrase in the primitive Church. Indeed everything connected with the Church of England is as unlike the Church of the first centuries as it well can be. The Fathers, whenever they spoke of “Apostolical Succession,” invariably meant the Succession of the Episcopate in one of the Sees founded by the Apostles themselves; as the See of Jerusalem, Ephesus, Antioch, &c. That of Rome was called pre-eminently “the Apostolic See.” Rome now is the *only* Apostolic See, and there only is to be found Apostolical Succession in the primitive sense of the words.

To revert to St. Optatus, it may be observed that, with respect to him, even Mr. Palmer is forced to make a very important concession. “It is not denied,” he says, “that St. Optatus, in arguing against the Donatists as to the ‘Cathedra,’ which they admitted to be one of the gifts of the Church, refers to the chair of Peter at Rome, as constituting the centre of unity in the Catholic Church. It was so, in fact, at that time, and had long been so. But Optatus does not affirm that it was in such a sense the centre of unity, that whatever Churches should be at any time separated from its communion, must be schismatic or heretic.”—*Treatise on the Church*, vol. ii., p. 535. It is strange to see the different ways in which Protestants try to explain away whatever bears against their theory. Mr. Palmer himself had just quoted the passage in which St. Optatus says that the chair was divinely established for the preservation of unity; “so that whosoever should set up a chair against the one

chair, should be a schismatic and offender;" and the whole force of the argument lies in this.

XLI. ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN. A.D. 372.

1. "You see how that, great and worthy of election as were all the Apostles, yet one is called the Rock, and is entrusted with the foundations of the Church, while another is most loved, and rests on Jesus' heart, nor are the rest jealous of this pre-eminence."—i. 454. *A.*
2. "Peter, the foundation (or pillar) of the Church."—i. 142. *B.*
3. "Peter, the most honourable of the disciples."—i. 157. *A.*
4. "The faith of old Rome was right from the beginning, and she continues right, binding with holy bonds every nation under the sun, as well becomes THE PRESIDENT OF THE WHOLE WORLD."—*Ex lib. de Vita Sua.*

XLII. ST. GREGORY NYSSEN. A.D. 372.

1. "The memory of Peter, the head of the Apostles, is celebrated, and with him that of the other members of the Church. But the Church of God is firmly built on him. For he, according to the prerogative granted to him by the Lord, is that firm and solid rock, upon which the Saviour built the Church."—*Orat. ii.*
2. "By means of the change of his name he is changed by the Lord into something more divine; instead of Simon, being both called and having become Peter."—*Hom. xv.*
3. "Through Peter He gave to the Bishops the key of the heavenly honours."—*De Castig. l. ii.*
4. "The memory of Peter, the head of the Apostles, is celebrated; and magnified indeed with him are the other members of the Church; but (upon

him) is the Church of God firmly established. For he is, agreeably to the gift conferred upon him by the Lord, that unbroken and most firm rock upon which the Lord built His Church."—*Orat. de Stephan.*

XLIII. ST. AMBROSE. A.D. 374.

1. "Peter came up fearlessly, and though he had arrived last, he was the first to enter, inasmuch as he had received the keys of the Kingdom that he might open to others."—iii. 227. *K.*
2. "This was Peter to whom our Lord said, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church. WHERE PETER IS, THERE IS THE CHURCH. Where the Church is, there is no death, but life eternal. And therefore He added, And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and to thee will I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Blessed Peter against whom the gate of hell hath not prevailed, nor the gate of heaven closed itself; but, on the contrary, he hath destroyed the infernal and opened the celestial portals. Established on earth then, he hath opened Heaven, closed hell."—ii. 762. *I.*
3. "At the crowing of the cock the very rock itself of the Church washed away his fault."—*Hymn "Æternæ rerum conditor."*
4. "PETER is the eternal gate AGAINST WHICH THE GATES OF HELL SHALL NOT PREVAIL."—iv. 163. *L.*
5. "The Lord entered the SHIP OF THE CHURCH only, of which PETER was APPOINTED THE MASTER, when the Lord said, upon this rock will I build my Church. When the world is in flames, the CHURCH OF PETER will preserve unhurt all whom it embraces."—v. 85. *C.*
6. "To Peter, as to a good steward, He gave the key of the Kingdom of Heaven; to Paul, as to one well adapted to be a teacher, He assigned the mastership of Ecclesiastical in-

- struction, in order that those whom the latter instructed to salvation, the former might receive into rest; and that of those whose hearts Paul opened with the doctrine of words, to the souls Peter might open the Kingdom of Heaven.....*Both then received keys from the Lord, the one of Knowledge, THE OTHER OF POWER.*"—v. 142. *D.*
7. "Let us implore Peter that he himself, as the good doorkeeper of the heavenly palace, may open unto us."—i. 545. *G.*
8. "Nor is it without reason, after his confession of exceeding love, that he is bidden to GOVERN THE PEOPLE, who even in his trouble had not lost the power of governing himself."—ii. 834. *H.*
9. "It was not that our Lord doubted. He asked, not for information, but to teach us whom He was leaving on His ascension into Heaven, as the *Vicar of His love to us.*"—iii. 233. *A.*
10. "See, then, how weeping profited Peter. Before his weeping he fell; after it he was exalted. He who before his tears was an example of wavering, after his tears is taken to be the Pastor, and has others committed to his government, though before he had not governed himself."—v. 68. *C.*
11. "PETER IS SET OVER THE CHURCH after he has been tempted by the Devil; therefore our Lord signifies, by way of anticipation, His subsequent purpose of choosing him as the SHEPHERD OF THE LORD'S FLOCK."—iii. 792. *A.*
12. "Andrew followed the Saviour before Peter, and yet not Andrew but PETER RECEIVED THE PRIMACY."—iii. 455. *M.*
13. "He when he heard the question, But what do ye say of me, forthwith, not unmindful of his position, EXERCISED HIS PRIMACY;—a primacy of course of confession not of honour; a primacy of faith not of rank." ["Of course," because as he says in quotation 11, he was not raised to the primacy of honour and power until after the resurrection. He exercised a primacy of confession and faith now, to be rewarded afterwards with a primacy of honour and rank. A Protestant using such words would mean something very different, no doubt; but to St. Ambrose, it must be remembered, there was nothing to suggest the antithesis, but the fact of the dignity and authority subsequently conferred, and of which elsewhere he himself speaks at large.]
14. "They hold no inheritance from Peter who hold not the seat of Peter."—*De penit. i. 7.*
15. "That vessel is not agitated wherein prudence sails, whence heresy [*perfidia*—Cf. St. Cyprian,] is distant, and where faith breathes. For how could that be disturbed, OVER WHICH HE PRESIDES, ON WHOM REST THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE CHURCH?"—*De fide, iv. 2 n. 25.*
16. "The ship is the Church, which sails well through the world with its sail of the Cross of the Lord unfolded, and impelled by the breath of the Holy Spirit. *In this ship Peter is ordered to fish, now with nets, now with the line.*"—*De Virg. c. xviii. n. 118.*
17. "Peter strikes off his ear. And why Peter? Because he it is who received the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, for he condemns and absolves, since he received the power of binding and loosing. He strikes off the ear of him who sins by his hearing, but with the sword of the Spirit he will cut off the spiritual ear of him who sins by the understanding."—*In Luc. lx. n. 67.*
18. "Peter, a wise and grave man, in whom was the foundation of the Church and the CHIEF AUTHORITY IN TEACHING." [Magisterium disciplinæ.]—*De Virgin. xvi.*
19. "How could He not confirm his faith, unto whom, of His own authority, HE GAVE THE KINGDOM, and whom when He styles a rock, He pointed out the foundation of the Church."—*De fide, ch. v.*

20. "We are of opinion that *the matter should be referred to our holy brother, the Priest of the Roman Church*, since we presume that you will not determine upon anything that could be displeasing to him.....that, on receiving a list of your resolutions, *when we are aware that the Roman Church has without any hesitation approved of what you have done*, we also may joyfully reap the fruit of your discussion."—v. 186. B.
21. "We entreat your clemency not to suffer the Roman Church, *the head of the whole Roman world*, and THAT INVIOLEABLE FAITH OF THE APOSTLES to be disturbed, for THENCE IT IS THAT THE RIGHTS OF SACRED COMMUNION FLOW TO ALL."—*Council of Aquileia, recorded by St. Ambrose, v. 133. G.*
22. "We acknowledge in the letter of your Holiness the watchfulness of THE GOOD SHEPHERD, who diligently keeps the gate entrusted to him, and guards with pious solicitude the fold of Christ, WORTHY TO BE OBEYED AND FOLLOWED BY THE SHEEP OF THE LORD.....Let the creed of the Apostles be believed, WHICH THE ROMAN CHURCH ALWAYS KEEPS AND PRESERVES INVIOLEATE.—*Council of Milan to Pope Siricius, v. 116. B.*
23. "In all things I desire to follow THE ROMAN CHURCH."—*Lib. iii., de Sacramentis.*
24. "He [Satyrus, St. Ambrose's brother,] called a Bishop to him and asked him whether he was in communion with the Catholic Bishops, that is, WITH THE SEE OF ROME."—*Serm. de. ob. Satyri.*
25. "You ought to be forewarned to hold the faith of Holy Innocent, who is both the successor and the son of him whom I have named, and of the Apostolic See."—*Ep. cxxx.*

Testimony more explicit than this there could not be. St. Peter's supremacy is asserted in the strongest possible language, and then the doctrine is practically illustrated by an evidence of the most humble submission to St.

Peter's successors. Such submission, it must be remembered, proves beyond all question that the language used by the Popes of the day, St. Innocent and St. Siricius, with which the Bishop of Milan must have been perfectly familiar, was approved by the Church at large.

In a note on St. Optatus, attention was drawn to the subject of the "Formate," or letters of intercommunion by which distant Churches were united. It appears from that Father that these letters held the Church in communion with the Holy See. St. Augustine asserts* that "Formate" were never received from the East by the African Church unless through Rome; and here we have St. Ambrose's word that from Rome "the rights of sacred communion flow to all." Could there be plainer proof that Rome was then regarded as the centre of unity?

XLIV. ST. JEROME. A.D. 376.

1. [From his letter to Pope Damasus.] "Since the East, oppressed by the inveterate rancour of contending parties, tears to pieces the Lord's tunic, seamless and woven throughout, and foxes lay waste the vine of Christ, as in broken cisterns that hold no water, it is hard to ascertain where is that fountain sealed, and that garden all enclosed. I have thought it right, therefore, to CONSULT THE CHAIR OF PETER, and the faith approved by the mouth of the Apostle.....Nor truly can the vast expanse of the watery element and extent of intervening lands restrain me from the search after the pearl of great price. 'Where-soever the body is, thither are the eagles gathered together.' The substance has been wasted by a profligate generation, and with you alone is preserved incorrupt the heritage of our fathers. There in its rich soil

* Quotation 45.

the earth gives back the purity of the Lord's seed with fruit a hundred fold; here, buried in the furrows, the wheat degenerates to tares and straw. Now rises the Sun of Righteousness in the West, but in the East that Lucifer who had fallen has set his throne above the stars. You are the light of the world; you are the salt of the earth; you are vessels of gold and silver; here vessels of clay and wood are reserved for the rod of iron and the fire of eternity. Wherefore though your greatness awes me, your kindness encourages me to approach you. From THE PRIEST I ask the sacrifice of salvation, from THE PASTOR the care of the sheep. Away with all spirit of rivalry, away with all courting of the Roman eminence; it is with THE SUCCESSOR OF THE FISHERMAN that I speak, and the disciple of the Cross. Following no primate but Christ, [that is, *acknowledging none of the three Bishops who claimed his allegiance,*] I am associated in communion WITH THY BLESSEDNESS, THAT IS WITH THE CHAIR OF PETER. I know that on THAT ROCK THE CHURCH IS BUILT. WHOSOEVER SHALL EAT THE LAMB OUTSIDE THAT HOUSE IS PRO-FANE. IF A MAN BE NOT IN THE ARK OF NOE, HE SHALL PERISH when the flood comes in its power... I know not Vitalis, Meletius I reject, I am ignorant of Paulinus. Whosoever gathers not WITH THEE scatters: that is, he who is not of Christ is of Antiehris. Now, therefore, sad to say, after the declaration of the faith at Nice, after the Alexandrian decree, the West too giving equal weight to the decision, by the Prelate of the Arians and by the Campenses, the new term of three hypostases, is forced upon me, me A ROMAN!.....I implore you, if it be your good pleasure, ISSUE YOUR DECREE. I will not fear to confess the three hypostases. IF YOU COMMAND IT, let a new post-Nicene faith be framed, and the orthodox confess in the same form of words as the Arians

.....OR IF YOU THINK IT RIGHT that we should confess the three hypostases with their interpretation, we refuse not.....Wherefore I conjure your blessedness.....that *authority may be given me by letters from you, whether I am to confess or reject the hypostases,*.....and at the same time that you will signify to me with which Bishop I ought to communicate at Antioch, for the Campenses, joined with the heretics, are trying to compass [ambient] nothing else than that, supported by the authority of your communion, they may teach three hypostases in the same sense as they ever have."—*Ep. lvii.*

2. "Whither tends all this length of preface? Simply that, little as I am, you in your majesty may regard me,—that you the rich Pastor may not despise a poor sick sheep.....The Church here is divided into three sections, and each is doing its utmost to drag me into its communion. The ancient authority of the monks dwelling in the neighbourhood, rises against me: I, meanwhile, cry out, IF ANY BE JOINED TO THE CHAIR OF PETER, he is mine. Meletius, Vitalis, and Paulinus say that they adhere to you. If one asserted this I could believe him. As it is, either two of them, or all three, lie. Wherefore I conjure your blessedness, by the Lord's cross, by the essential glory of our faith, by the passion of Christ, that you who are THE SUCCESSOR OF THE APOSTLES IN DIGNITY, would be their successor in merit.....that you would signify to me by your letters with which Bishop in Syria it is my duty to communicate. Do not despise a soul for which Christ died."—*Ep. lviii.*

3. "Among twelve one is chosen that, a HEAD being constituted, OCCASION OF SCHISM MAY BE REMOVED."—*Ad Jovin. 14.*

4. "What say you to Plato and Peter, for as of philosophers the former, so of Apostles is the latter the prince, on whom the Lord's Church was

built in a solid fabric, which is shaken neither by the shock of waves, nor any storm whatever."—*Lib. 1. adv. Pelag.*

5. "I have often urged that this should be observed even now. The causes should be sought of every one of our Lord's sayings and actions. After the 'stater' was found, after the tribute was paid, what is the meaning of the sudden question of the Apostles; 'In that hour the disciples came to Jesus, saying, who is the greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven?' Because they had seen the same tribute paid for Peter and the Lord at the same rate, they thought that *Peter was raised above all the Apostles*, who in the payment of tribute had been coupled with the Lord. Therefore it was that they asked, &c."—*In Matt. xviii. 1.*

6. "The prudent reader may ask, how Peter after all these great blessings... now hears 'Follow after me, Satan;'or what the sudden change was that after so great gifts he is called Satan. But if the person who asks this will consider, he will perceive that the benediction, and blessing, and POWER, and the building of the Church upon him, were promised for the FUTURE, not given at once..... Had these promised blessings been given then, the error of an evil confession would never have had place in him."—*In loco.*

7. "When on this subject a great discussion arose, Peter, with his wonted liberty, said, 'men and brethren,' &c. The whole assembly was silent, and the Apostle James, together with all the Presbyters, came over to his opinion. [sententia]. There need be no difficulty here either to myself or the reader, but it will be useful to both in proving that the Apostle Paul was quite aware that Peter was the CHIEF PROMULGATOR [Principem] OF THIS DECREE. In a word, of so great authority was Peter, that Paul, in his Epistle, wrote "Then, after three years, I came to Jerusalem to see

Peter, and remained with him fifteen days.'.....showing that *he had not felt sure of preaching the Gospel, unless he had been confirmed by the decision of Peter and the rest of the Apostles who were with him.*"—*Ibid.*

8. "Simon Peter, the son of John, of the town of Bethsaida, brother of the Apostle Andrew, and Prince of the Apostles, after exercising the Episcopate over the Church of Antioch, went to Rome, and there for five and twenty years held the *Sacerdotal chair*. Buried at Rome in the Vatican near the 'Via Triumphalis,' he is honoured with the veneration of the whole city."—*Cat. Script. Eccles.*

9. "Pray therefore to the Lord that...the chair of St. Mark the Evangelist may be CONFIRMED in its teaching by that of PETER'S CHAIR."—*Ad Jovin.*

10. "Many years before, when I was engaged in assisting Damasus, the Bishop of the Roman city, in preparing Ecclesiastical papers, and answering Synodical appeals from the East and West....."—*Ep. ix. ad Gerundium.*

11. "What calls he his faith? Is it that for which the ROMAN CHURCH is illustrious, or that which is contained in the volumes of Origen. If he answers 'THE ROMAN FAITH,' then are we CATHOLICS."—*Lib. i. adv. Ruffin.*

12. "The safety of the Church depends upon the dignity of the HIGH PRIEST, and unless an extraordinary and eminent power is assigned to him by all, there will be as many schisms in the Church as there are Priests."—*Dial. cont. Luceferianos.*

13. "I think it fit to admonish you with the pious affection of charity, to hold the faith of the holy Innocent, who is THE SUCCESSOR TO THE APOSTOLIC CHAIR, and not to admit any foreign doctrine, however prudent and cautious you may fancy yourself."—*Ep. cxxx., n. 16, ad Demetrium.*

It appears then from St. Jerome,

- I. That St. Peter was appointed as a Head for the sake of unity.

II. That the Church was in an especial manner built on him.

III. That he was Prince of the Apostles, and that St. Paul honoured him as such.

IV. That he founded the See of Antioch, and was afterwards for 25 years Bishop of Rome.

V. That Rome is consequently called the chair of Peter, and the Bishops of Rome his successors.

VI. That to be in communion with that chair is to be in the Church.

VII. That to be with the Pope is to be with Christ; to be against him is to be with Antichrist.

VIII. That the pure faith is to be sought at Rome.

IX. That its Bishop is the Pastor of every sheep in the fold.

X. That he may issue decrees in matters of faith.

XI. That when Bishops contend, the Pope is the umpire.

XII. That in his day the East, as well as the West, continually appealed to Rome.

XIII. That "Roman" and "Catholic" are all but convertible terms.

The great body of Protestants would of course say that St. Jerome and the other Fathers we have quoted were decided "Papists;" that even at that early period they had forgotten to make the Scriptures their sole rule of faith, and had yielded to the encroaching ambition of a great and powerful Prelate. But Anglican "High-Churchmen" know that such an admission would be fatal to themselves in many respects, and they attempt therefore to make out that St. Jerome, and St. Optatus, and St. Cyprian, and St. Irenæus, really paid no more deference to the Holy See than they themselves do.

If an unprejudiced man will read over carefully the above quotations from St. Jerome, and then turn to the Anglican explanation, he cannot but see that it is absolutely ludicrous.

XLV. FIRST COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE. A.D. 381.

This Council was not at the time a General Council, but only became such because of its subsequent reception by the Church. Yet from the words of the *sixth* General Council it would seem that Theodosius had St. Damasus' authority for calling it. They are as follows:—

"Macedonius Deitatem Spiritus Sancti denegabat, sed maximus Imperator Theodosius, et Damasus adamas fidei,..... illam in hac regia urbe synodum congregabant."

In the Synodical letters to St. Damasus they thank him for calling them to a Council, "*tanquam membra propria*," and St. Damasus in his answer calls them "*his beloved sons*," and commends them for having "*paid due honour to the Apostolic See*."—*See above, St. Damasus, 3d quotation.*

It is objected from this Council that nothing whatever is said of the Pope in the canons relating to ecclesiastical discipline, except that the Patriarch of Constantinople, of *New Rome*, should rank next after the Bishop of old Rome.

It is very obvious however that all the canons passed on this occasion referred only to the regulation of the Eastern Patriarchates.

The history of the Arian controversy proves beyond all doubt that the Pope *did* actually exercise authority over the East, and especially over Alexandria. St. Athanasius, who died about ten years before the Council, had availed himself of the Pope's power, and had recorded in works which must have been familiar to all the orthodox Bishops assembled at Constantinople, the *claim* which St. Julius had put forth, the *custom* of the Alexandrian Church appealing to Rome, the *deposition* of the Arian Bishops and the *restoration* of himself and the other Catholic Bishops "*by virtue of the Bishop of Rome's peculiar prerogative*." The *silence* then of the Council respecting the power exercised so recently and with so much effect among them by the

Pope, shews plainly that they did not look upon this power as of *Patriarchal* jurisdiction but as something "*sui generis*," which was, as St. Julius himself had said, *well known to all*, and with which they had no power to interfere. At *Sardica*, it is true, the Pope's privilege was supported, but then that Council was mainly directed against heretics who had opposed him. Besides, the Pope's legates were present. At a Council like this which was at the time only a local synod, and in which the Pope took no part, it would have been presumptuous to enter at all upon the question of his prerogative.

If it is difficult to explain why the Pope's power is not defined by these Eastern Fathers, supposing *Catholics* to be right;—is it not much *more* difficult to explain (supposing *Protestants* to be right) why the Sardican Canons, which had so recently been *felt* among them, were not repudiated?

From the conduct of the orthodox Eastern prelates shortly *before* this Council, and from the plain assertion of Socrates and Sozomen shortly *after* it, we may gather how the Council's *silence* about the Pope is to be interpreted.

It was some forty or fifty years after these Prelates assembled that the people of Constantinople had in their hands the works of those two historians, both of whom declare that nothing could be done in any part of the Catholic Church without the Pope's sanction. And these men were no partisans of Rome, but on the contrary so "*liberal*" as to be suspected of favouring heresy. There is no doubt that they recorded what was the common opinion of the Eastern Church in their day. Unless it is maintained then that the East had suddenly Romanized at the beginning of the fifth century, we must believe that the Fathers at Constantinople admitted the power of the Holy See.

It is often urged that as this Council raised the Patriarch of Constantinople to the second rank on the plea of that City being New Rome, it follows that the Pope was first in rank, only because

his See was old Rome. But this is very false logic. Old Rome doubtless was by God's Providence chosen for the See of the First Bishop because of its position, and the Eastern Prelates *may** have been also guided by Providence that their chief Patriarch should in like manner occupy the chief city. So Bishops always have their sees in cities and not in villages. But as the city does not make the Bishop, so neither does the *chief* city make the *chief* Bishop.

Just as it is a confusion of ideas to say our Lord appointed a Head of His Church because of the merits of him who was chosen to be the *first* head, so is it in like manner a confusion of ideas to say the Church of Rome was chief "in authority of place" because of the greatness of the city.

St. Peter was faithful and therefore was chosen to be Head.

Rome was the capital of the world, and therefore was chosen to be the See of St. Peter.

It is absurd to say, If St. Peter had not been faithful there would have been *no* head; or

If Rome had not been a great city, there would have been no seat for that Head's successors.

St. Peter had universal supremacy of Divine right, because he was faithful.

Rome had universal supremacy of Divine right, because it was the chief city.

One is the reason why St. Peter was chosen instead of another *man*. The other is the reason why Rome was chosen instead of another *city*.

All good Catholics in those days said with St. Jerome, "*Absit ambitio Romani culminis.*" It was not because of Rome's earthly greatness that they had recourse to her from all parts of the world, but because she was the "*Cathedra Petri*," and her Bishop was the "*Successor of the fisherman.*"

* It is very possible however that ambition was their motive, for the act both of this Council and of Chalcedon, received no Papal confirmation, and was for a long time therefore invalid.

The Church of Jerusalem was spoken of by this Council as "the mother of all Churches,"—a fact which is paraded by Anglicans with more zeal than reason, in the face of the equally notorious fact, that in point of rank Jerusalem was a subordinate See under the jurisdiction of Cæsarea. Here, as in other matters, Protestants unwittingly plead our cause. Jerusalem *was* the mother in its own way. It was thence that the Church sprang; and yet Rome was, as St. Cyprian says, the "*origo*," and, as St. Irenæus says, the "*mazima Ecclesia*," and as *all* say, "*the Apostolic See.*" What then is the obvious conclusion?—Why, that the *maternity* of Jerusalem does not in the least interfere with the maternity of Rome. Jerusalem was the "*origo*" whence Christianity took its rise. Rome was the "*origo*" "*unde unitas Sacerdotalis exorta est.*"

M. Ratisbonne (quoted in the *BRITISH CRITIC*, No. 67,) has the following passage on this subject:—

"In the primitive age of Christianity the mysterious centre of evangelical life is at Jerusalem; from thence the glad tidings of salvation start forth. Peter carries it with him to Rome and founds the visible centre of Catholicism in the capital of the world.....Rome is in relation to Jerusalem what the head is to the heart. Rome has the primacy, jurisdiction, supreme authority; she rules all the Churches, for she is the seat of St. Peter's successor, the shepherd of the shepherds, the mother of all the faithful; she holds the deposit of tradition; she is the infallible interpreter of doctrine. Jerusalem is the mother Church, without show and grand appearance; she forms the mystical cord which unites the visible to the invisible, time to eternity. It is at Jerusalem that is formed at the beginning of Christianity, that nucleus of contemplative souls, who afterwards shall perpetuate themselves in the deserts, the cloisters, the monastic orders. Thus St. Paul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, at the same time that he subjects all the Churches to the authority of St. Peter,

binds them together and unites them in the bonds of charity with the Church at Jerusalem.....It is to the poor of Jerusalem that he excited the attention of all the Churches of the earth: not that there are no poor elsewhere; not, as he says himself, that the temporal help is the principal object of that bounty; but an external expression was wanted for the relations of brotherly love,—a visible witness of communion and communication between the various members and the original centre of the body."*

XLVI. COUNCIL OF AQUILEIA. A.D. 381.

The Council of Aquileia was a provincial Synod of thirty-two Bishops from Italy, Africa, and Gaul, summoned by an edict of Gratian at the suit of two Arian Bishops. St. Ambrose presided. In an Epistle to the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, the Council implored them not to countenance the schism of Ursinus, but to support St. Damasus in the Apostolic See. A passage from this letter has been already cited in the testimony of St. Ambrose, (Quotation 21), in which they say that from Rome it is that "the rights of sacred communion flow to all."

XLVII. COUNCIL OF MILAN. A.D. 385.

Over this Council also St. Ambrose presided, and the letter addressed by the assembled Prelates to the Pope St. Siricius has accordingly been cited in

* *Historie de St. Bernard. Deuxieme Edition*, p. 44. The writer regrets that he has not room for the whole passage, as it stands in the *BRITISH CRITIC*. Its force is lost without the context. The article in which it is quoted is entitled "The Synagogue and the Church." The reader will be well repaid by referring to it. In common with many of the later articles in the same periodical, it may be strongly recommended, as a stepping-stone to the truth.

that Father's testimony—(See Quotation 22). They acknowledge their allegiance to him as the Shepherd of the Church, and speak of the Church of Rome as the keeper and preserver of the Creed of the Apostles. The Council was held against the Apollinarians.

From the words of St. Siricius himself may be gathered the nature of the Pastoral office thus recognised by St. Ambrose and his Council.

XLVIII. ST. SIRICIUS. A.D. 385.

1. "We bear the burdens of all who are laden, yea rather the Blessed Apostle Peter beareth them in us, who, as we trust, in all things protects and defends us, THE HEIRS OF HIS GOVERNMENT."—*Constant. Ep. Rom. Pontif. p. 624.*
2. "Now let all Bishops keep the above rule [one put forth by himself] who do not wish to be separated from the integrity of THAT APOSTOLIC ROCK UPON WHICH CHRIST FOUNDED HIS UNIVERSAL CHURCH."—*Ibid.*
3. "Let them know [any Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, who presume to marry] that, BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE, they are DEPOSED from the exercise of all ecclesiastical functions, and can never more touch the venerable mysteries from which they have excluded themselves through the indulgence of sensual affections."—*Ibid.*
4. "We have received, as I think, most dear brother, all the complaints which have been made, and in my opinion given satisfactory answers to all the cases, which you have referred, by our son Bassianus the priest, to THE ROMAN CHURCH AS TO THE HEAD of your body."—*Ad Himmer. n. 20.*

XLIX. ST. ASTERIUS. A.D. 385.

1. "When Christ had ascended into Heaven, Peter assumed the office of

preaching the Gospel, and speaking in the name of all the rest, manifested the courage of a bold mind. When I say this, let it not be thought that I compare the servant with the master; but I mean that God, to shew his own power by His servants, on none of His disciples bestowed so many of His gifts as on Peter. By these HE RAISED HIM ABOVE THE REST; and such he was shown to be by the power of the divine Spirit."—*Hom. in SS. Pet. et Paul.*

2. "John, who rested on the breast of Christ, was great; so was James. Philip also was renowned—but still THEY ALL GAVE WAY TO PETER, and acknowledged their inferiority."—*Ibid.*
3. "When our Saviour by His death purposed to sanctify the human race, HE COMMITTED TO PETER THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH as a most excellent deposit. Having asked him thrice, Lovest thou me? (John xxi.) and Peter having as often with great readiness replied, he received the world as a flock committed to a shepherd, hearing the words, Feed my lambs. The Lord, IN THE PLACE, IT MAY BE SAID, OF HIMSELF, appointed this faithful disciple to be the father, the shepherd, and the instructor of his followers."—*Ibid.*
4. "For he is truly the first who, like a large and mighty stone, was cast into the cavity of this world, or, as David says, into this vale of tears, in order that supporting all Christians who are built thereon, he may raise them to that summit which is the home of our hopes. Other foundation no man can lay but that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus—with a like name did our Saviour adorn His first disciple, calling him the rock of faith. Through Peter then is the foundation preserved from fall and tottering, and became a true and faithful guide to holiness. On the foundation of this just man do we Christians stand firmly rooted from the East even to the West."—*Ibid.*

This holy Father was Bishop of Amasea, in Pontus. Many works are ascribed to him, but fourteen sermons only are received as undoubtedly genuine.

L. ST. CHRYSOSTOM. A.D. 390.

1. "Peter the Prince of the Apostles."
—*Passim*.
2. "'And give unto them,' He saith, 'for me and thee.' Seest thou the exceeding greatness of the honour? 'In that hour came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who is the greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven?' The disciples experienced some feeling of human weakness, wherefore the Evangelist advances this note, saying, 'In that hour;' when He had preferred him to all.....Being ashamed to avow their feeling, they say not indeed openly, 'Wherefore hast thou preferred Peter to us?' or, 'Is he greater than we are?' for they were ashamed; but indefinitely they ask, 'Who then is greater?' For when they saw the three preferred, they felt nothing of the kind; but now that the honour had come round to one, they were vexed. And not for this only, but there were many other things which they put together to kindle that feeling. For to him He had said, 'I will give thee the keys;' to him, 'Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona;' to him here, 'Give unto them for me and thee;' and seeing too in general how freely he was allowed to speak, it somewhat fretted them."—*Hom. lvi. in Matt.*
3. "When I say Peter, I mean that immoveable rock."—*De Penitentia, Hom. iii.*
4. "He so washed away his denial that he was made even the first of the Apostles, and THE WHOLE WORLD WAS COMMITTED TO HIM."—*Adv. Judæos, viii.*
5. "After that grievous fall, again He exalted him. He delivered to him the GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD."—*Ibid, Hom. v.*
6. "He overlooked his fault and constituted him the first of the Apostles."
—*In Ps. cxxxix.*
7. "Peter, the mouth of all the Apostles, the leader of that choir, the head of that family, THE PRESIDENT OF THE WHOLE WORLD, the foundation of the Church."—*Hom. in 2 Tim. iii.*
8. "Why does Christ, passing by the rest now speak to Peter alone? He was eminent above the rest, the mouth of the disciples, and the head of that college. Therefore Paul came to see him above the rest. Christ says to him, if thou lovest me, TAKE UPON THEE THE GOVERNMENT OF THY BRETHREN."—*Hom. lxxviii. in Joan.*
9. "'In those days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples, and said,' &c. See how he acknowledges THE FLOCK ENTRUSTED TO HIM, how he is the Prince of the choir.....COULD NOT PETER HAVE APPOINTED HIM HIMSELF? CERTAINLY HE COULD, but he abstained, lest it should be supposed he favoured any one.....It was fitting that it should be thus, because the BEING SET OVER THE OTHERS was not then a matter of honour, but of watchful care for the subjects.....He had reason to act here the first of all WITH AUTHORITY, HAVING HAD THEM ALL COMMITTED INTO HIS HANDS, for Christ had said to him, 'When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.'"—*Hom. in Art. iii.*
10. "'Have we not power to lead about a sister, a woman, even as the other Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord and Cephas?' Observe his skilfulness! The leader of the choir stands last in his argument; since that is the time for laying down the strongest of all one's topics. Nor was it so wonderful for one to be able to point out examples of this conduct in the rest, as in the foremost leader; and in HIM WHO WAS ENTRUSTED

WITH THE KEYS OF HEAVEN. But neither does he mention Peter alone, but all of them: as if he had said, whether you seek the inferior sort, or the more eminent, in all you find patterns of this kind drawn out for you. For the brethren too of the Lord, being freed from their first unbelief had come to be among those who were approved, although they attained not to the Apostles. And accordingly the middle place is that which he hath assigned to them, setting down those who were in the extremes before and after."—*Hom. xxi. in Corinth.*

11. "Paul rebukes and Peter submits, that when the MASTER is blamed yet keeps silence, the disciples may more readily come over."—*In Gal. ii. 12.*
12. "He [St. Paul] knew WHAT PREROGATIVE OF HONOUR was due to Peter; hence it was that in leaving all he went to Jerusalem, nor was there any other occasion for his journey than to see Peter."—*Hom. in illud "In faciem ei restiti."*
13. "Our city, [Antioch,] has this peculiar prerogative of honour, that it had at the beginning the Prince of the Apostles for its teacher, for it was fitting that the place which was before the whole world adorned with the name of Christian, should have the first of the Apostles for its Pastor; but though we received him for our teacher, we did not retain him for ever, but we yielded him to the royal city of Rome"—*In inscript. Act. ii. See also in S. Ig. M. n. 4.*
14. "See how Paul speaks after Peter, and no one restrains: James waits and starts not up, for he [Peter] it was TO WHOM HAD BEEN ENTRUSTED THE GOVERNMENT."—*Hom. xxiii. 2.*
15. "And should any one say, why then did James receive the throne of Jerusalem? this is my answer: that he appointed this man [Peter] not teacher of that throne, but OF THE WORLD."—*Hom. lxxviii. 6.*
16. "Why did He shed His blood? To purchase those sheep whom He committed TO PETER AND HIS SUCCESSORS."—*De Sacerdotio. ii.*
17. "Since it was of no avail to lament and there was need of care and consideration as to the best method of staying the tempest that beset the Church, we deemed it necessary to prevail upon Demetrius Pansophius, Pappus, and Eugenius, my most venerable Lords and pious Bishops, to leave their own Churches and hasten to your charity, in order that you may be put in possession of all the facts in the clearest manner, that you may set matters right with all speed. I beseech you TO DIRECT that what has been iniquitously done against me in my absence and without any trial, SHALL BE NULL AND VOID, and that they who have thus acted may be visited with ecclesiastical censure."—*Ep. i. Ad. Innocent.*
18. "Nor is it necessary to inform you, the Teacher and Pastor of so many nations." "As the waves run higher, and hidden rocks abound, and storms prevail, so in proportion is your watchfulness increased; nor does so great a distance, or tediousness of intercourse, or practical difficulties, damp your zeal, but you ever act like the best pilots who are most watchful when the waves run highest. We are for ever grateful that you have manifested more than PATERNAL LOVE in benevolence and zeal on our behalf Not a little are we comforted and encouraged by the constancy of your love and the freedom of your intercourse with us, and the pleasure we have experienced in your ready and sincere affection. *This is our wall, this is our safety, this is our calm haven, this is a treasure of infinite value, this is our joy, and the source of very great delight.*"—*Epist. ii. ad Innoc.*

The quotation, No. 16, does not seem to Protestants of much force, because St. Chrysostom evidently considers St. Basil as successor, in the Episcopate, to

a share in St. Peter's authority. But in fact it is a precise statement of the Catholic doctrine that the episcopal authority emanated not from the Apostles generally, but from him to whom alone the keys were given. Bishops, it is true, are in a sense St. Peter's successors, but then they must trace their commission to him, and that can only be done, as all the Fathers maintain, in the *Cathedra Petri*. Compare Tertulian's "The Lord gave the keys to Peter, and through him to the Church." No one who is familiar with St. Chrysostom can well mistake his meaning.

Protestants too lay great stress on the fact that St. Chrysostom continually gives titles of precedence to St. Paul as well as to St. Peter. That they do not, however, at all interfere with the peculiar prerogative of St. Peter, even the few passages we have quoted sufficiently manifest. It has always been customary in the Catholic Church to couple the names of these two great Saints, and to honour them with almost equal honour; yet no one would argue from this that Catholics do not recognise the supremacy of the chief Apostle. *E.g.*, in the Roman Breviary, *Vesp. et Laud. Commem. Com. de Apost.*, we read, "Peter the Apostle, and Paul the teacher of the Gentiles, these taught us thy law, O Lord, R. Thou shalt make them princes over all the earth." In the York Breviary, *P. SS. Pet. et Paul, ad Vesp. Hymn*. "These are the two olive trees before the Lord; (*Zech, iv. 3.*) and the candlesticks beaming with light; the two bright luminaries of heaven;" and again, "*Non impar Paulus huic.*" No one can well doubt about the claim put forward and vigorously acted upon by St. Gregory the Great: Yet he says, "the Apostle Paul is brother in Apostolic pre-eminence to Peter the first of the Apostles."—*Dial. ch. 12.*

When St. Chrysostom was deposed by the Synod of the Oak, he wrote to St. Innocent a letter, of which Quotation 17 is a portion. At the same time his rival Theophilus also wrote to the Holy

See forwarding the Acts of the Synod. St. Innocent complied with the Saint's request, and declared the sentence unjust. Palladius, St. Chrysostom's friend, who wrote his life, says, "Ad hæc rescripsit Beatus Innocentius Papa, communionemque utriusque partis admissa Theophili iudicium cassum atque irritum esse decrevit."

LI. PRUDENTIUS. A.D. 400.

"Fly, ye miserable men, from the execrable schism of Novatus, and return to the Catholics. May that one faith prevail which...the chair of Peter holds."—*Hymn St. Hippol.*

"At Rome two chiefs of the Apostles rule, the one called the Apostle of the Gentiles, the other, possessing the first See, opens the eternal gates entrusted to his care."—*Hymn ii., in St. Laurentium.*

LII. ST. AUGUSTINE. A.D. 400.

1. "Peter.....holding the principality* of the Apostleship....."—*Ed. Ben. Tom. v. 416. B.*

* Such expressions are applied to St. Peter as designating a position to which he was appointed. They occur perpetually, as a matter of course, with nothing to introduce them. Their force therefore is not, in the slightest degree, weakened, by the single instance, in which St. Augustine contrasts some of St. Paul's expressions about his own imperfections, with such an eminence of Apostleship as he had earned. "*Tanti Apostolatus meruit principatum*"—*x. 51. C.* All doubt as to the view taken by the Fathers with regard to St. Paul, is removed by St. Ambrose. See Quotation 6. See also on St. Chrysostom, in this page.

That such men as Dr. Wordsworth should be satisfied to quote the passage referred to, and one other, in which St. Paul is called by some of the titles usually given to St. Peter, as an answer to the mass of evidence in favour of St. Peter's Supremacy, would be surprising, were it not that we have innumerable evidences of the recklessness with which all Protestant controversy is conducted. Dr. Wordsworth has helped to open men's eyes by the glaring dishonesty of his letters to M. Gondon.

2. "In the order of the Apostles, the first, and chief, and prince."—*Passim*.
3. "On this account did the PETRA rise, THAT HE MIGHT STRENGTHEN PETER; for Peter had perished had not the Petra lived."—v. 1017. A.
4. "Because of the whole Church HE ALONE was the representative, he merited to hear, 'To thee will I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.' For these keys not one man but the unity of the Church received. Hence, therefore, is the excellence of Peter put forth, because of the very universality and unity of the Church he bore the figure, when it was said to him, 'I have given thee' what to all was given."—v. 1194. F.
5. "Fittingly also, after His resurrection, to Peter himself did the Lord commend His sheep to be fed. Not that he alone of the disciples merited to feed the Lord's sheep; but when Christ speaks to one, UNITY IS COM-MENDED, and first to Peter, because Peter is the first of the Apostles."—v. 1195. F.
6. "In one man, Peter, was shown the unity of all pastors."—v. 702. D.
7. "He is acknowledged to have sustained in figure the person of the Church, BECAUSE OF THE PRIMACY which he had among the disciples."—iv. 1215. F.
8. "For that tunic for which lots were cast, signifies the unity of all parts, which is preserved in the bond of charity.....As among the Apostles all were asked, Peter alone answered, 'Thou art, &c., and to him is said, 'I will give thee the keys.' He alone spoke for all, and that because he received for all, bearing as it were the figure of unity itself. Therefore one for all because unity in all."—2. p. iii. 800. G.
9. "For Peter, too, to whom He com-mended His sheep, AS IF BY WAY OF TRANSFER, He wished to make one with Himself, that thus he might be the HEAD, that he might bear the figure of the Body, that is the Church."—v. 240. F.
10. "Cyprian relates that Peter, IN WHOM THE PRIMACY OF THE APOS-TLES WAS WITH SUCH EXCELLENT GRACE PRE-EMINENT, was corrected by the Apostle Paul, his inferior."—ix. 96. D.
11. "The firmness and love of Peter, to whom it was said three times by the Lord, 'Lovest thou me?' 'Feed my sheep,' for the safety of the flock willingly submitted to the rebuke of an inferior shepherd. For he who was rebuked is more admirable than he who rebuked, and more difficult to be imitated. For it is easier to see and correct faults in others than to see your own, and to be reproved willingly even by yourself, not to say by another:—and add that THAT OTHER BE AN INFERIOR, and that it be in public! This furnishes, therefore, a noble example of humility."—2 p. iii. 949. B.
12. "Who is ignorant that that PRIN-CIPALITY OF THE APOSTOLATE IS TO BE PREFERRED BEFORE EVERY EPIS-COPATE."—ix. 97. A.
13. "Peter left the whole world, and THE WHOLE WORLD PETER RE-CEIVED."—iv. 1161. E. [In these passages, and such as these, for they might be multiplied indefinitely, St. Augustine shows that St. Peter was appointed PRIMATE of the Apostolic College, Head and Supreme Pastor of the Church, and Centre of Ecclesiastical Unity. The quotations that follow prove that he believed the privileges conferred on St. Peter were not merely personal, but transmitted to his successors.]
14. "But if all the Bishops of the 'orbis terrarum' were open to the imputation wherewith you charge them, what say you to the CHAIR OF THE ROMAN CHURCH IN WHICH PETER SAT, and in which this day Anastasius sits; or that of the Church of Jerusalem, in which James sat, and in which this day John sits, and from whom you, in your wicked madness, have separated."—ix. 254. G. [On the authority of

the several Apostolic Sees, see remarks on the testimony of Tertullian. So long as the others were in existence, it was natural that they should be associated with Rome, as repositories of tradition. As in Scripture it was "St. Peter and they that were with him," so with the Fathers it was "Rome and the other Apostolic Sees." That is, they often united them thus; but much more often Rome is spoken of alone, and its *appellative* was "the Apostolic See."]

15. "Wherefore callest thou THE APOSTOLIC CHAIR the chair of pestilence? These things if you would consider, you would not, for the sake of the men whom you calumniate blaspheme THE APOSTOLIC CHAIR WITH WHICH YOU HAVE NO COMMUNION."—ix. 255. A.

16. "Surely Carthage had a Bishop of no mean authority, who need not have cared for the devices of his numerous enemies, while he perceived himself to be in communion with THE ROMAN CHURCH IN WHICH THE PRINCIPALITY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHAIR ALWAYS FLOURISHED, as well as with the rest of the world."—ii. 91. E. [Compare with this the passage before quoted, "Quis enim nescit illum Apostolatus principatum cuilibet Episcopatu præferendum? Sed et si distat Cathedrarum gratia, &c."—See Quotation i.]

17. "If the order of Bishops succeeding each other is to be considered, how much more certainly and with true safety do WE NUMBER THEM TO PETER HIMSELF, to whom, in his character of the Church's representative, the Lord said, 'On this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' For to Peter succeeded Linus, &c., &c.,..... to Siricius Anastasius."—ii. 120. F.

18. "In all that order of Bishops, which is drawn from Peter himself down to Anastasius, who now occupies THE SAME CHAIR, even supposing any 'traditor' had in that time crept in, it would in no way have prejudiced

the Church and innocent Christians, for whose sake the Lord, in His providence, says of evil persons set over them, 'What they say do, but do not after their works.'"—ii. 121. B. [Why would they not be prejudiced? Because they might belong to independent Churches over whom the Bishop of Rome was *not* set? No, but because of that declaration of our Lord's about unworthy prelates.]

19. "Come, brethren, if you will, and be engrafted into the vine; we grieve to see you lying thus cut off. RECKON UP OUR PRIESTS FROM THE VERY SEAT OF PETER, and trace the succession in that order of the Fathers. THIS IS ITSELF THE ROCK against which the gates of hell shall not prevail."—ix. 7. E. ["*Ipsa est Petra*," not *your* succession, however in the letter Apostolical, but *this* succession in the See of Rome.]
20. [In the following passage we have the *notes* of the Church. Remark the stress laid on St. Peter's peculiar commission, as that which makes communion with Rome to be one of those notes]:—"What binds to the Church is, (1) authority derived in the first instance from miracles, cherished by hope, augmented by love, confirmed by antiquity; (2) a SUCCESSION OF PRIESTS FROM THE VERY SEAT OF THE APOSTLE PETER, TO WHOM, AFTER HIS RESURRECEION, OUR LORD COMMENDED HIS SHEEP TO BE FED, DOWN TO THE PRESENT EPISCOPATE; (3) lastly, the very name of Catholic, which not without cause among so many heresies, this Church alone has so obtained, that though all heretics would like to be called Catholics, yet to a stranger asking any one the way to the Catholic Church, not one of the heretics would venture to point out his own basilica or meeting-house."—viii. 153. B.
21. "Shall we hesitate to hide ourselves in the bosom of *that Church which by the confession of the human race, hath held THE SUMMIT OF AUTHORITY from the Apostolic See*, through successions

- of Bishops, heretics in vain lurking around her, and being condemned, partly by the judgment of the very people, partly by the weight of Councils, partly also by the majesty of miracles. *Not to yield the first place to this is surely the height of impiety, or of headlong presumption.*"—viii. 69. *B.*
22. "For what could that holy man [St. Innocent] answer to the African Councils, unless what *from ancient times the APOSTOLIC SEE AND THE ROMAN CHURCH perseveringly holds?*"—x. 503. *G.*
23. "After letters reached us from the East most openly treating of the same case, we had discharged our duty to the Church in every way that it should be wanting in no sort of Episcopal authority. There were sent therefore concerning this matter from the two Councils of Carthage and Milan REFERENCES TO THE APOSTOLIC SEE, before the ecclesiastical proceedings, through which Pelagius professed to have been cleared by the Bishops of the province of Palestine, came to our hands, or to Africa. We wrote also to Pope Innocent of blessed memory, besides the Council-papers, familiar letters, in which we expatiated a little more at large upon the case itself. To all these things he replied to us IN THE MANNER WHICH WAS FIT AND BECOMING IN THE PRELATE OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE."—ii. 664. *E.* [The distinct claim then made by St. Innocent to have universal authority as St. Peter's Successor was esteemed by St. Augustine "fit and becoming."]
24. "Already in this matter the proceedings of two Councils HAVE BEEN LAID BEFORE THE APOSTOLIC SEE; thence too have the replies arrived. THE MATTER IS SETTLED."—v. 645. *D.*
25. "For some of them, before that pestilence was condemned by THE PLAINEST JUDGMENT OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE.".....ii. 709. *F.*
26. "The originators of this heresy unless they had done penance UNDER THE CENSURE OF TWO VENERABLE PRELATES OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE, would have been condemned by the whole Christian world."—ii. 706. *G.*
27. "SO MANY, and of such importance, being the Ecclesiastical writings which went rapidly to and fro between THE APOSTOLIC SEE AND THE AFRICAN BISHOPS.".....x. 433. *G.*
28. "What could be more clear and explicit than THAT DECISION OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE?"—x. 435. *C.*
29. "What says the ungrateful man to these things, whom, as if by his own confession punished, THE APOSTOLIC SEE SPARED WITH MOST INDULGENT LENITY."—x. 435. *G.*
30. "Lucilla vented herself against Cæcilian in his absence and against the Apostolic See and the whole world, with which Cæcilian was in communion."—ii. 100. *D.*
31. "My desire is to agitate the matter in our own Council, and, if need be, to write to the Apostolic See."—ii. 879. *F.*
32. "But we are told the Bishop of Rome gave a wrong decision, then as another resource they could appeal to a General Council of the Universal Church."—ii. 97. *A.*
33. "To Pope Zosinus also documents were forwarded from the African Council, and when his replies came, they were sent generally to THE BISHOPS OF THE WHOLE WORLD."—ii. 794. *C.*
34. [To Pope Boniface.] "As there is one common function to all of us who discharge the Episcopal office, though you are yourself PRE-EMINENT in it by a HIGHER GRADE.".....—x. 412. *B.*
35. "Wherefore the blessed Pope Boniface in his epistle with pastoral care, and watchful energy.".....—ii. 779. *F.*
36. "In these words of the Apostolic See, so ancient and established, certain and clear is the Catholic faith.".....—x. 418. *D.*
37. "He seemed [Cælestius] nevertheless at the time to say what was con-

sistent with the Catholic faith, but to the end *he never could succeed in deceiving that See.*—x. 263. A.

38. "Your letters reached me when I was at Caesarea, whither I had been brought by an Ecclesiastical necessity enjoined upon us by the venerable Pope Zosimus, the Bishop of the Apostolic See."...ii. 700. B.
39. "In the document which he [Cælestius] presented at Rome, he said..... 'What I have gathered from the fountain of the Prophets and Apostles we submit to be approved by the judgment of your Apostolate.'—x. 264. A.
40. "The paternal authority of your Holiness," [to St. Innocent].—ii. 627. A.
41. "The pastoral care of the most blessed Pope Boniface."—ii. 779. E.
42. "We have examples, the very Apostolic See being judge or confirming the judgment of others....."—ii. 779. B.
43. "I do not blame the Fussalians because they brought before you a just complaint against me." [To St. Cælestine].—ii. 780. C.
44. [To the same.] "If thou wilt free from their alarm and grief the members of Christ who reside in that district, and will comfort my old age by this merciful act of justice, He will reward you here and hereafter, WHO THROUGH THEE SUCCOURED US IN OUR PERPLEXITY, AND WHO PLACED THEE IN THAT CHAIR."—ii. 777. A.
45. "The eastern heresy tried to join itself with that of Africa. This is the more evident because no Eastern Catholic ever communicated by letters with the Bishops of Carthage, EXCEPT THROUGH THE BISHOP OF ROME."—ix. 454. D.
46. "See what answer you can give to St. Innocent, whose judgment in this matter differed not at all from those to whom I have introduced you. He too is in accordance with these, though last in time, yet FIRST IN POSITION."*—x. 504. A.

Let the first thirteen of these quotations be well considered, and then let the reader say what *came* of this most important appointment of our Lord, if the personal history of St. Peter is alone to be regarded. They assert that our Lord constituted St. Peter the representative of His Church, the Chief Pastor, the Primate of the Apostles, and the centre of unity. Now did he discharge all these functions so fully as to make it unnecessary to look further for the fulfilment of our Lord's words? On the contrary, is not the Protestant argument *this*;—that he fulfilled none of them? This is not our opinion, but surely those who detract from the personal preeminence of St. Peter, have no right to explain away St. Augustine by urging such personal preeminence. The fact is that, to a certain extent, all must admit St. Peter did not in his person fully discharge the important functions entrusted to him. The Apostles were all inspired, all infallible. Their work, too, was not to erect into one visible kingdom the scattered families of Christ, but to announce His Kingdom to the world. There would be little meaning, then, in our Lord's appointment, unless we look on for its fulfilment in St. Peter's successors.

On the ordinary *Anglican* mode of explaining such passages as these,—the mode adopted by those who, in opposition to other Protestants, make much of St. Peter's personal pre-eminence, the writer has given his own views in his remarks on St. Cyprian. He will avail himself of this place to confirm what was there said, by the words of another which have since been brought under his notice. They are from an article by Mr. Ward in a recent periodical:—

"It is not a *consequence* of this principle, but a simple statement of it in other terms, that no Bishop or Episcopal body can possibly be schismatical. The 'centre of unity,' he with whom sove-

brose. The phrase he uses is "*prior loco*," with which we may compare St. Cyprian's "*locus Petri*," St. Vincent's "*auctoritate loci*," and St. Ambrose's "*loci non immemor sui*."

* The authorities he had referred to were St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, St. Hilary, and St. Am-

reign and independent power is lodged must possess that power independently of any condition as to communion with others. If to be governed by Apostolically-descended Bishops is a sufficient proof of being within the visible Church, as the *Tracts for the Times* with one voice assert, it is simply an equipollent proposition to say, that no body governed by Apostolically-descended Bishops, can be outside of the visible Church. The union, therefore, of these several portions of the Church is not an *organic*, but merely a *federal* union; just such a union as there is between two independent nations. while a cordial understanding subsists. It is fully sufficient to state this proposition nakedly, and contrast it with the whole doctrine on Church unity, expressed in all the language, and implied in all the proceedings, of the Fathers of the Nicene era. However, as it is worth while taking some little trouble to make clear the real nature of this preposterous theory, we will just draw out one or two consequences which, by logical necessity, are involved in it.

(1) "Thus, first, where such a view is held, there will be unceasing and unlimited tendency to break up the Church into an indefinite number of Episcopally-governed atoms.....If two Saints, at a period too so close to the Apostolic, could differ on a matter in which no one now-a-days will deny that one view or the other was a heresy, (we allude of course to St. Stephen and St. Cyprian,) much more would ordinary bishops who need not be Saints, so differ: and a difference on a subject of this nature, where there is no common authority to which obedience is due, must inevitably produce a separation. A Bishop would fail in his duty who did not guard his flock from contamination, by forbidding them intercourse with those who, in his serious judgment, were corrupting the pure faith of the Gospel. Nor is it only in questions of doctrine that such separations would be built; there are numberless matters of discipline, or ritual, of what we may call Ecclesiastical pru-

dence, which would produce a like result. Various Bishops might all be in their way men even of holy and mortified life, and yet legitimately and naturally take such opposite views on a multitude of such questions, that intercommunion would be impossible; unless, of course, (which is the Catholic theory,) their own power is not by Divine right sovereign and independent, but there is some other tribunal to which they are bound by God's law to submit. And we have only further to carry our mind gradually onwards from the fourth century, and recall to our memory the innumerable new questions in faith and practice which the Church has had to encounter in her course, to form some idea of the Babel-like confusion, the indescribable hubbub, in which the whole Church would be involved, by the time she came down to the nineteenth century.

(2) "Next, it must be remembered' in judging of the theory under discussion, not only that Bishops who really held it, would inevitably, and that without supposing any grievous sin, fall into constant divisions and sub-divisions; but even if they separated from each other in a spirit directly sinful, from a spirit of contention, or a desire of aggrandizement, their spiritual subjects would be compelled, in bounden duty, to follow them. This, we say, is necessarily involved in this theory, unless indeed the Wickliffite principle is held that 'dominion is founded in grace,' and that mortal sin in a superior absolves the subject from his allegiance. This principle is of course simply anarchical, and was so used by those who invented it: it is so, as for other reasons, so also because no one except God, and (if so be) his confessor can know the state of a Bishop's conscience, and the whole principle of settled jurisdiction must therefore fall to the ground, if it be admitted. Here, then, is a new aspect of an old position; and 'quiequid delirant reges plectantur Achivi' becomes true in a deeper sense than the poet intended. No one in fact can open a single page of

Ecclesiastical History without seeing how numerous and how serious were the contentions of Bishops. We have, *e.g.*, St. Gregory Nazianzen's criticism on their behaviour at General Councils.

(3.) "But the constitution of the Anglican Church requires a still further admission; it requires us to believe that each individual Bishop may devise 'Articles of religion' of his own invention, and from his own private judgment on the Sacred Text; and require assent to such articles on the part of all whom he ordains. In other words, he may require his own private and peculiar notions to be held by every one of those from whom the people are to learn their religion.

(4.) "Nay, what is to hinder him from imposing them actually on all as *terms of communion*? or rather, how can it be otherwise than his *duty* to impose new terms of communion, if some new and pernicious heresy be infecting his flock? But if God require this at his hands He must have invested him with the correlative privilege of *infallibility*."

"And here, too, there will be present to the minds of all the continually reiterated assertion that members of the Roman communion, *e.g.*, in England, are schismatics; an assertion indeed which to be consistent ought to be carried further. Every one knows that the deliberate intention to commit mortal sin, under given circumstances, is itself a state of mortal sin. But there is not a Catholic living, who does not deliberately intend, should he come to England, to go to Mass and not to the Anglican service; therefore there is no Catholic living, who (except for invincible ignorance) is exempted from a state of mortal sin. We really owe our readers an apology for taking so much trouble with these puerilities; but it appears there *are* controversialists who are unable to enter into one's meaning, unless we draw it out even to tedious minuteness, and express it in terms 'level to the meanest capacities.'"

The other quotations from this great

Father speak very plainly for themselves.

I. He makes the chair of St. Peter one of the notes of the Church.

II. He says that succession from that Apostle is the rock whereon the Church is founded.

III. He points out to heretics the claim to their allegiance of that Church, which has the summit of authority through succession of Bishops from St. Peter.

IV. He appeals to the Pope's decisions as a rule of faith.

V. He approves of St. Innocent's assertion of his universal authority as St. Peter's Successor.

VI. He regards the Papal judgments as final.

VII. He perpetually appeals to the Pope in the most humble manner.

VIII. He obeys his injunctions as of "Ecclesiastical authority."

IX. He regards his authority as *paternal*.

X. He speaks of his pastoral care for the African Church.

XI. He entreats for mercy towards parties with whom the Holy See was displeased, and implores assistance under perplexity.

The sects against which St. Augustine's controversial works are mainly directed, were these three—the Donatists, the Manichees, and the Pelagians.

(1) The Donatists, being nearest in doctrine to the Catholics, having Apostolical Succession, maintaining the necessity of Ecclesiastical unity, and the efficacy of the Sacramental system,—yet being separated from Rome and the "*orbis terrarum*,"—may be regarded as the *Anglicans* of the day.

(2) The Manichees, being advocates of private judgment, asserters of the sufficiency of Scripture, and deniers of all Church authority, may be called the *Ultra-Protestants* of the day.

(3) The Pelagians, at the time when St. Augustine wrote, being in communion with the Church, professing to be Catholics, and apparently paying defe-

rence to the authority of the Holy See, we may consider as the *Jansenists* or *Febronianists* of the day.

By this it is meant that their *position* relatively to the Church and the See of Rome was similar to that of the modern sects, to which we have compared them. As to doctrine, the Donatists were in fact far better than Anglicans, and the Manichees worse than Ultra-Protestants;—while the error of the Pelagians was in an opposite extreme to that of the Jansenists.

(1) A large body of African Bishops, headed by their Primate, held a Council to examine into the consecration of Cæcilian, the Archbishop of Carthage. They determined that it was schismatical, and consecrated another in his stead. About four hundred of the African Bishops assented to the decision of this "National" Synod, and refused to hold communion with the true Archbishop, on the ground that his consecrators had forfeited their right of consecrating, by particular acts with which they were charged. The foreign Churches were henceforth deemed *corrupt*, and were called by names of contempt. Here then was a most important "National Independent Church," supported by the unanimous voice of a "bench of Bishops," eminent for their learning and piety, denouncing the Cæcilianists, (or those in communion with Rome and the foreign Churches,) as schismatics and *intruders*. The causes of the schism were, first*, the machinations of a lady, with whom the Catholic discipline interfered, as in the case of Anne Boleyn. Secondly, the ambition of some who coveted Ecclesiastical power, like Henry VIII. And, thirdly, the rapacity of a few of the leading Clergy, who were influenced by the same desire of possessing Church-plate and ornaments, which instigated the great movers of the English Reformation. This is the account which St. Augustine and the Catholics gave of the *African Reformation*. If we listen to

the Reformers themselves, we shall hear a very different story. They argued that the corruptions of the Church were so great, that it was impossible to hold communion with it any longer; that the entire world belonged to the Devil; that the Church was become a house of wickedness; that at that time it had pleased God to raise up great and good men, who cleansed the Church of Africa from the abuses that had crept in. Up to this period, the Catholic Church, they maintained, had been the true Church, but that now, when the foreign Churches formally sanctioned the malpractices that had been introduced, and fostered the schism of the Cæcilianists, they ceased to be a true Church. So taught the first Donatists, like the first Anglicans. But they were soon divided into many parties. They had their "High-Churchmen," and their "Low-Churchmen." While the latter held to the original opinion of the African Reformers, many of whom had fallen as martyrs in the cause of their "glorious Reformation," the former, under the leadership of Tichonius, a man of great learning, maintained that the Church in communion with Rome was a *sister-church*, though fallen. This led to much controversy between the two parties; and Parmenian, the leader of the "Low-Church" party, urged the great danger of maintaining that the foreign Churches were true *branches* of Christ's Church, and denounced Tichonius for his Romanizing tendencies. The *inconsistency* of the "High-Church" Donatists was urged by St. Augustine, precisely as the inconsistency of the "High-Church" Anglicans is urged by us. He says of Tichonius, "Non vidit quod consequenter videndum fuit, illos videlicet in Africa Christianos pertinere ad ecclesiam toto orbe diffusam, qui utique non istis ab ejusdem orbis communione atque unitate sejunctis, sed ipsi orbi terrarum per communionem connecterentur. Parmenianus autem cæterique Donatistæ viderunt hoc esse consequens."—*ix. II. D.†*

* "Schisma igitur illo tempore confusæ mulieris iracundia peperit, ambitio nutrita, avaritia roboravit."—*St. Optatus. Lib. i.*

† This parallel is admirably drawn by Dr. Wiseman, in the *DUBLIN REVIEW*, No. xiii. p. 139.

In treating with the Donatists, St. Augustine argues precisely as we argue with Anglicans. The only shadow of difference is, that, as the Donatists claimed to have a legitimate Bishop of Rome belonging to their own communion, who was sent from Africa to fill the "Cathedra," forfeited, as they supposed, by the original successors of St. Peter, it was of no use to dwell so frequently as we do upon the office of those successors.* They always had their answer ready. They are "traitors:" OUR *Bishop is the true successor of St. Peter*. On this subject there was no bringing matters to an issue, and St. Augustine only used that argument, when, as in his popular Psalm against the Donatists, he desired to supply his own people with a ready test of schism. There he speaks plainly enough.—(See Quotation 19.) In his other writings, he takes the Donatists on their own ground. They admitted the Church to be supreme, and held that the prophecies about the Kingdom of Christ related to the extension of that Church. This was enough for St. Augustine. It furnished him with an argument so overwhelming, that he wanted no other: and, accordingly, his treatises on Donatism are little more than Sermons upon such texts as "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed;" "I will give thee the nations for an inheritance, &c;" "He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river to the bound-

aries of the earth." In answer to their assertion that the Church Universal was corrupt, and so justified the "Reformation," St. Augustine urged the argument, which is familiar to us of the present day, viz., that, in such case, the promises of Christ had failed.—"If that be true," he says, "which these men assert, and by which they endeavour to maintain or excuse the cause of their separation, namely, that the fellowship of the wicked in the same sacraments defiles the good, and that, therefore, we must separate ourselves bodily from the contagion of the evil, lest all should together perish, it clearly follows, that at the time of Stephen and Cyprian, the Church had perished, nor was any left to posterity, in which Donatus himself could be spiritually born. But if they consider it impious to say this, for in truth, it is impious, then, as the Church remained from these times to the times of Cæcilian and Majorinus, or of Donatus,.....so could the Church remain after this latter period, which, increasing through the entire world, as had been foretold of her, the particular crimes of any traitors, or other wicked men, could not defile.....There was no reason, therefore, but it was an act of the greatest madness, for these men, as if to avoid the communion of the wicked, to have separated themselves from the unity of Christ, diffused over the entire world."† This is the great *τοπος* of the ninth volume of St. Augustine's works, and with wonderful power he brings it to bear upon every excuse for separation, as, one after another, they were poured forth by his schismatical opponents. The CATHOLICITY of the Church was the weapon he wielded, with giant force, against the NATIONALITY of the Donatists.‡

* In one of his books against Petilian, after referring to the testimony of the Church of Jerusalem, in corroboration of that of Rome, he says:

"Quare appellas *Cathedram pestilentie* Cathedram Apostolicam? Si propter homines quos putas legem loqui et non facere, numquid Dominus Jesus Christus propter Phariseos, de quibus ait, Dicunt enim et non faciunt, Cathedræ in qua sedebant ullum fecit injuriam? Nonne illum Cathedram Moysi commendavit, et illos servato Cathedræ honore redarguit? Ait enim: Cathedram Moysi sedent; quæ dicunt facite, quæ autem faciunt, facere nolite, dicunt enim et non faciunt. Hæc si cogitaretis, non propter homines quos infamatis, blasphemaretis Cathedram Apostolicam, cui non communicatis. Sed quid est aliud quam nescire quid dicere, et tamen non posse nisi maledicere?"

† *Tom. ix. 539. A.*

‡ Anglicans say the Church is not Catholic. So said the Donatists then, and with just as much truth. "Quomodo," asked Cresconius, "totus orbis communione vestra plenus est, ubi tam multe sunt hæreses, quarum vobis nulla communicat?" The Oxford Divines have said that the "orbis terrarum" no longer "securus judicat," because the Church is no longer one.

(2) With the second sort of heretics, whom we have regarded as the Ultra-Protestants of the day, St. Augustine took, as *we* should, a different course. This book, for instance, is addressed to "High-Church" Anglicans;—to persons who admit that the Church has authority, but have mistaken a false Church for the true one;—and we are not without some hope that they may be induced to listen to what the Fathers say to them on the subject of the ONE BODY, the ORBIS TERRARUM with the Apostolic See at its head. It is *not* addressed to the mass of Protestants, for the writer is quite conscious that they will laugh to scorn the whole scheme of a Visible Church having authority. They do not believe in a VISIBLE BODY, and of course they can not be induced to take any interest as to the question of a VISIBLE HEAD. Just so was it with the Manichees, and, accordingly, St. Augustine directs all his efforts to show that authority is *needed*; that there is a Church having authority, and that none can be saved who *knowingly*, and through wilful obstinacy, refuse to submit to her. "The Manichees," he says, "inveigh against those who, following the authority of the Catholic faith, fortify themselves, in the first instance, with believing, and, before they are able to set eyes upon that truth, which is discerned by the pure soul, prepare themselves for a God who shall illuminate. You, Honoratus, know, that nothing else was the cause of my falling into their hands, than their professing to put away AUTHORITY, which was so terrible, and by absolute and simple REASON to lead their hearers to God's Presence, and to rid them of all error. For what was there that forced me, for nearly nine years, to slight the religion which was sown in me when a child by my parents, and to follow them, and diligently to

attend their lectures, but their assertion that I was terrified by *superstition*, and was bidden to have *Faith* before I had *Reason*, whereas *they* pressed no one to believe before the truth had been discussed and unravelled?" "But," he adds, "true religion can not, in any manner, be rightly embraced, without a belief in those things which each individual afterwards attains and perceives, if he behave himself well and shall deserve it;—nor altogether without some WEIGHTY AND IMPERATIVE AUTHORITY."

The following is a specimen of the manner in which he urges the necessity of Authority:—

"Quæro ego, qui sit iste Manichæus? [*what is this Protestantism?*] Respondebis, Apostolus Christi. [*The Gospel of Christ.*] Non credo: quid jam dicas aut facias, non habebis: promittebas enim scientiam veritatis et nunc quod nescio cogis ut credam. Evangelium mihi fortasse lecturus es, et inde Manichæi personam [*the truth of Protestantism*] tentabis asserere. Si ergo invenires aliquem qui Evangelio nondum credit, quid faceres dicenti tibi, non credo? EGO VERO EVANGELIO NON CREDEREM, NISI ME CATHOLICÆ ECCLESIE COMMOVERET AUCTORITAS. Quibus ergo obtemperavi dicentibus, Crede Evangelio, cur eis non obtemperem dicentibus mihi, Noli credere Manichæis? [*Protestants.*] Elige quid velis. Si dixeris, Crede Catholicis; ipsi me movent ut nullum fidem accommodem vobis: quapropter non possum illis credens, nisi tibi non credere. Si dixeris, Noli Catholicis credere: non recte facies per Evangelium me cogere ad Manichæi fidem, [*the Protestant faith*,] quia ipsi Evangelio Catholicis prædicantibus credidi. Si autem dixeris, Recte credidisti Catholicis laudantibus Evangelium, sed non recte illis credidisti vituperantibus Manichæum; [*the Reformers*,] usque adeo me stultum putas, ut, nulla reddita ratione, quod vis credam, quod non vis non credam? Multo enim justius atque cautius facio, si Catholicis quoniam semel credidi, ad te non transeo, nisi me

That, as an historical fact, it is as much one as it ever was, is admirably shown by Mr. Newman in his Essay on Development. The Catholic Church of the nineteenth century stands in the same position with regard to heretics as it did in the fifth.

non credere jusseris, sed manifestissime ac assertissime scire aliquid feceris. Quocirca si mihi rationem redditurus es, dimitte Evangelium. Si ad Evangelium te tenes, ego me ad eos teneam quibus præcipientibus Evangelio credidi; et his jubentibus tibi omnino non credam. Quod si forte in Evangelio aliquid assertissime de Manichæi Apostolatu [about the Divine mission of Luther or Henry VIII.] invenire poteris, infirmabis mihi auctoritatem Catholicorum, qui jubent ut tibi non credam: qua infirmata, jam nec Evangelio credere potero, quia per eos illi credideram; ita nihil apud me valebit quidquid inde protuleris. Quapropter si nihil manifestum de Manichæi Apostolatu [the mission of the Reformers] in Evangelio reperitur, Catholicis potius credam quam tibi. Si autem aliquid inde manifestum pro Manichæo [in favour of Protestantism] legeris, nec illis, nec tibi: illis, quia de te mihi mentiti sunt; tibi autem quia eam Scripturam mihi profers, cui per illos credideram, qui mihi mentiti sunt. Sed absit ut ego Evangelio non credam. Illi enim credens, non invenio quomodo possim etiam tibi credere. Apostolorum enim nomina quæ ibi leguntur, non inter se continent nomen Manichæi." [the names of Luther or Henry VIII.]—viii. 154.

Such is the mode of argument adopted by St. Augustine against the Ultra-Protestants of his day. It is hardly necessary to say the same argument has tenfold force, now that fourteen hundred years have elapsed since it was written. For if the difficulty then was great in the way of ascertaining, by any mere historical and critical investigation, what were, and what were not, inspired writings, how much greater is it now! A man may come to a *probable* conclusion from such investigation, and *think* that this or that book is part of God's Word. But then it is mere *opinion*. It is not *faith*. Any man may, like Luther, pick out what books suit him, and reject the rest. Who is to gainsay his *right*? Among the probable arguments for the canonicity of a book would be its harmonizing, or not harmonizing, with the

investigator's preconceived notions of truth.*

And the same reasoning, thus unanswerably directed by St. Augustine against Ultra-Protestants, in respect to *Scripture*, must have equal weight, in respect to *Tradition*, when addressed to "High-Church" Anglicans. The one class have their *opinion* about Scripture, the other have their *opinion* about Tradition, but all *authority* being in point of fact rejected, *faith*, in the true sense of the word, there can be none. The following passages will convey some idea of St. Augustine's view of tradition.

"Traditum tenet universitas Ecclesiæ."—ix. 140. B.

"Illa consuetudo quam etiam tunc homines, sursum versus respicientes, non videbant a posterioribus institutam, recte ab Apostolis tradita creditur. Et talia multa sunt quæ longum est repetere."—*Ibid*, 126. F.

"Quam consuetudinem credo ex Apostolica traditione venientem, sicut multa quæ non inveniuntur in literis eorum, neque in conciliis posterioribus, et tamen, quia per universam custodiuntur ecclesiæ, non nisi ab ipsis tradita et commendata creduntur."—*Ibid*, 102. F.

"Quod universa tenet Ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate Apostolica traditum rectissime creditur."—*Ibid*. 140. C.

"Sicut multa quæ universa tenet Ecclesia, et ob hoc ab Apostolis præcepta bene creduntur, quanquam scripta non reperiantur."—ix. 156. F.

"Illa autem quæ non scripta sed tradita custodimus, quæ quidem toto terrarum orbe servantur, datur intelligi vel

* It is a fact, which must be not a little startling to thinking Protestants, that St. Augustine's Bible contains many books not to be found in "the authorized version." "Totus autem Canon Scripturarum...his continetur, Quinque Moyses, Jesu Nave, Judicum, Ruth, Quatuor Regum, Duo Paralipomenon, Job, Tobias, Esther, Judith, Machabæorum libri duo, et Esdræ duo, Psalmorum, Proverb. Cant. Ecclesiastes, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus, Duodecim, et quatuor Prophetarum."—1 p. iii. 23. E.

ab ipsis Apostolis vel plenariis conciliis, quorum est in Ecclesia saluberrima auctoritas, commendata atque statuta teneri."—ii. 124. *B.*

"Hoc [i.e. offering Sacrifice for the dead] a patribus traditum, *universa observat Ecclesia*."—v. 827. *E.*

"Non enim sine causa, Fratres mei, consuetudinem antiquæ traditionis *tenet Ecclesia*, ut per istos quinquaginta dies Halleluia dicatur."—v. 1204. *B.*

"Quod autem nos admonet, ut ad fontem recurramus, id est, ad Apostolicam traditionem, et inde canalem in nostra tempora dirigamus, optimum est, et sine dubitatione faciendum."—ix. 158. *D.*

"Quod *invenerunt* in Ecclesia tenuerunt; quod *didicerunt* docuerunt; quod a patribus acceperunt, hoc filiis tradiderunt."—x. 549. *E.*

"Hoc Ecclesia semper habuit, semper tenuit; hoc a majorum fide percepit; hoc usque in finem perseveranter custodiet."—v. 840. *A.*

From these passages it is very plain that St. Augustine would have condemned the attempt of any individual, or any community, to appeal from the Church to tradition; from the existing Church to the Church of former times. That which the Church holds, whether it be an interpretation of Scripture or something altogether unwritten,* is to

* St. Irenæus, who was connected by a single link with the Apostle St. John, taught the same doctrine. His words are earnestly commended to Anglicans, who regard Tradition as simply interpretive of the written Word, as well as to other Protestants, who make the Bible alone their rule of faith.

"Quid autem si neque Apostoli quidem Scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis quam tradiderunt iis quibus committant Ecclesias. Cui ordinationi assentiunt multæ gentes Barbarorum qui in Christum credunt, sine charta et atramento Scriptam habentes per spiritum in cordibus suis salutem, et veterem traditionem diligenter custodientes."—iii. 4.

Mr. Keble, commenting upon this passage reasons thus:—"The mere question, If we had not the Scriptures, must we not follow tradition? implies that, having the Scriptures, we have the substance of truth, necessary to salvation, and so far depend not at all upon tradition." The following is Dr. Wiseman's reply:—"Perhaps it might have been so, had St. Irenæus shewn that he meant to draw this consequence, and not

be received as tradition. The Church, not the individual, determines what is to be believed, and its authority is to be submitted to without question. Authority is quite a distinct thing from testimony. If the Church has authority, she is not to be cross-examined by her children, but humbly obeyed. So taught St. Augustine and all the Fathers, and so teaches the Bible. It is remarkable that St. Augustine says so little as he does about tradition. It will scarcely be believed that the passages quoted above are all that the writer has been able to find directly referring to the subject, throughout the eleven volumes of his works. They do not fill a page; whereas one might readily fill a thousand with what he writes on the authority of the existing Church. The reader will hunt in vain for anything like a "Catena Patrum" in St. Augustine. There are no appeals to the writings of the first three centuries; no testimonies adduced to establish the assertions he boldly makes, about the traditions of his day.† He had one rule, both as the

exactly the contrary. For he puts the question in order to prove that 'it is easy to receive truth from the Church,'—not from Scripture; and that, even in his time, 'whoever willed might receive from her the waters of life, since therein, as in a rich depository, the Apostles did most abundantly lodge all things appertaining to truth.' Surely this does not prove that St. Irenæus imagined the Scripture to have impaired the Church's rights as the depository of truth. It can hardly be considered fair to draw an inference from a writer's words, as though he had not himself done it; it can be still less fair to draw one exactly at variance with the one he has drawn. Nor, after all, could Mr. Keble's argument be, under any circumstances, correct, for St. Irenæus says nothing at all about 'the substance of truth necessary to salvation;' and if his words prove the substitution of Scripture for Church-authority, there is nothing to restrict them to this one object, but they would imply the complete abrogation of all traditional teaching, which it is not the Professor's desire to admit."

† The only exception to this is when he argues with the Pelagians on a matter wherein the Church had not yet spoken. He then quotes St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, St. Hilary, and St. Ambrose, winding up with St. Innocent, the Pope who was just dead, and of whom he says that though he was "posterior tempore," yet he was "prior loco."—x. 504. *A.*

ground of his own faith, and as a defence against all heretics, viz., "SECURUS JUDICAT ORBIS TERRARUM."

We have seen that against the NATIONALITY of the Donatists, St. Augustine's chief argument was the CATHOLICITY of the Church. The AUTHORITY of the Church, on the other hand, was the power he brought to bear with crushing weight against the RATIONALISM of the Manichees.*

(3) The third class of heretics against whom a great many of his writings are directed, were the Pelagians. They professed to belong to the Catholic Church, and to bow to the authority of the *orbis terrarum*; and his object, therefore, is to show that the Church *had* in fact spoken against them. Here, then, is direct occasion for alluding to the Holy See. Here we may expect to find continual reference to its decisions. And we are not disappointed. St. In-

* The Manichees were thorough Protestants. Their simple profession of faith was this:—"Nos Patris quidem Dei Omnipotentis, et Christi filii ejus, et Spiritus Sancti unum idemque, sub triplici appellatione, colimus nomen." Their PROTEST was as follows:—"ITEM PAGANI ARIS, DELUBRIS, SIMULACRIS, ATQUE INCENSO Deum colendum putant. Ego ab his, in hoc quoque multum diversus incedo, qui ipsum me, si modo sim dignus, rationabile Dei templum puto. Vivum vivæ majestatis simulacrum Christum filium ejus accipio; aram, mentem puris artibus et disciplinis imbutam. Honores quoque divinos ac sacrificia in solis orationibus, et ipsis puris et simplicibus pono." So said Faustus, speaking against the Catholics of the fifth century. Are not the orators of Exeter Hall his legitimate successors? "They," (the Manichees,) says Mr. Milman, "bitterly taunted the Catholics with their Paganism, their sacrifices, their agapæ, their idols, their martyrs, holidays, and rites."

May the prayers of St. Monica prevail for those who have learned of late to reverence her and her sainted son. If he was nine years a Manichee, what wonder if many a fine intellect and noble heart still linger among Anglicans. The writer would say to those whom he has left, as St. Augustine said to those whom he left,—*"illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt cum quo labore verum inveniatur... illi in vos sæviant, qui nunquam tali errore decepti sint quali vos deceptos vident."*

Are "High-Churchmen" prepared to accuse St. Augustine of having "renounced his Baptism," or "deserted his Mother?" A Baptism of some sort the Manichees administered, though it is probable that oil was used instead of water.

nocent, St. Zosimus, and St. Boniface, are successively appealed to as having condemned the heresy. *The proceedings of two Councils*, which had assembled to consider their case, *had been laid before the Pope*. The Holy Father had in reply asserted his universal jurisdiction in the plainest terms, yet in St. Augustine's opinion, and in the opinion of all the African Prelates, had answered as *became the Prelate of the Apostolic See*. By the *plainest judgment* of that See the heresy was condemned. Under its *censure* Pelagius and Celestius did penance. The decision concerning them was *clear and explicit*. The Apostolic See for a time *spared them with most indulgent lenity*. St. Zosimus' rescripts concerning them were *sent generally to the Bishops of the whole world*. The Catholic faith was established against them in the *words of the Apostolic See*. Celestius *never could succeed* in deceiving the Pope, though he pretended to submit everything to the *approval of his judgment*. And when the Pope had pronounced his sentence, the *question was settled*.

As then against the Nationalism of Separatists professing "Church-principles," on the one hand, and Separatists rejecting all "Church-principles" on the other, St. Augustine directed the arguments of CATHOLICITY and of AUTHORITY; so in dealing with Catholics, who were inclined to heresy, his one great and decisive resource is the VOICE OF THE HOLY SEE.

St. Augustine has of late years been so much talked about among Anglicans, that the writer can not forego the opportunity of cautioning his late friends against the danger of *taking for granted* that on the questions which have caused their unhappy separation, he is on their side and not on ours. As a matter of fact, *every* Catholic doctrine, against which they have been taught to protest, is to be found in the genuine works of this holy Father. A few references shall be here made, to show that the writer is not speaking at random. His plea for so far departing from the design of the

present work is, that he was himself startled into the necessity of searching for truth, by the discovery that the teaching of antiquity had been grossly misrepresented by the leading Anglican Divines. His hope is that some reader may be startled in like manner, and so be induced to take greater interest in the main subject proposed to him in this volume.

1. Concerning OUR BLESSED LADY, St. Augustine taught, as before him had taught St. Justin Martyr, and St. Irenæus, that she co-operates in the work of man's salvation; that the Incarnation was owing to Her faith; that She was full of Grace in order to be the Mother of our Lord; that She was sinless; that She is spiritually the Mother of all the faithful. 1 p. iii. 254. E.—vi. 343, &c. 210. A. 575. E.—viii. 444. C.—x. 61. C. 142. G. 145. A.—i. 142. G.—v. 981. B. 1168. B.

2. On the INVOCATION OF SAINTS, he taught that their *aid* is profitable, and should be implored;—that the faithful should commend the souls of their friends to the Saints, who as *Patrons* had taken them into their charge, to aid them before the Lord;—that by their merits we are assisted;—that they bestow temporal blessings;—that though we pray for the dead, we must not pray for *Saints*, but rather commend ourselves to them. That wherever God is, they are;—that they are to be *worshiped* with the worship of *Dulia*; which is quite different * from the worship called *Latreia*, due to God alone. He mentions that angels also are to be honoured with the inferior worship, and that when St. John was rebuked for worshipping an angel, it was because he took him for God, and offered adoration as to

Him.† v. 765. G. 1143. C. 1204. D.—1. p. iii. 456. B.—v. 1147. C. 1136. F. 1226. C. xi. 528. D.—v. 1293. D. vii. 239. B.

3. His VENERATION OF RELICS was as great as any that has been manifested in the subsequent History of the Church. He gives a detailed account of the Translation of St. Stephen's relics, for whose shrine in his own Church at Hippo, he had a peculiar devotion. Some of these he sent by Galla, a holy widow, and Simplicola a nun, to Bishop Quintilian, recommending them to him as worthy of his veneration. He alludes, in many places, to the devotion paid to the Relics of the Apostles at Rome—and to the wonders worked by those of St. Vincent, and the Martyrs of Milan.

4. Of the MIRACLES wrought through the intercession of St. Stephen, a long account is given in the twenty-second Book of the City of God. Of many he was an eye-witness. "Nos interfuimus, et oculis adspeximus nostris." One miracle which he narrates was worked by the Sign of the Cross; another by holy oil; another by earth brought from our Lord's Sepulchre; another by flowers brought from the shrine of St. Stephen; another by the touch of that Saint's relics as they were borne in procession; another by a cloak which they had touched; another by oil brought from the lamps at his shrine. About

† Nothing can be plainer than his commentary upon Gen. xxi. 7.—"Exurgens autem Abraham adoravit populum terræ." Quæritur quomodo scriptum est 'Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies'; cum Abraham sic honoravit populum quandam gentium, ut etiam adoraret. Sed animadvertendum est in eodem præcepto, non dictum, Dominum Deum tuum *solum* adorabis, sicut dictum est, et illi soli servies, quod est Græce λατρεύσεις. Talis enim servitus non nisi Deo debetur. Unde damnantur idolatræ, id est ejusmodi servitutem exhibentes idolis, quæ debetur Deo. Nec movet quod alio loco in quadam Scriptura prohibet Angelus hominem adorare se, et admonet ut Dominus potius adoratur. Talis enim apparuerat Angelus, ut pro Deo posset adorari, et ideo fuerat corrigendus adorator," 1. p. iii. 393. D.

His division of the commandments is the same as ours. vi. 174. F.—1. p. iii. 443.

* He cites approvingly, in a Sermon addressed to his own people, the following prayer to St. Stephen, by whose intercession, he says, the dead child was restored to life. "Sancte Martyr, vides nullum mihi remansisse solatium—to vides quare plangam. Redde filium meum, ut habeam eum ante conspectum coronatoris tui." The child had died without Baptism.—v. 127. G.

seventy miracles were performed at Hippo in two years.*—i. 163. A.—viii. 970. B, &c.—v. 1150. A. 1271. D.

5. The doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION was with him precisely what it is now, though the name was not then in use. The definition of the doctrine was occasioned by subsequent heresies, just as the definition of our Lord's *Consubstantiality* with the Father was occasioned by the Arians. He says that in the Eucharist, Christ is *literally*, "*secundum literam*," held in the hand, and that he is received alike by faithful and unfaithful, for the life of the one, and for the destruction of the other.—iv. 214. B. 216. A.—ix. 146. E.—v. 510. E. 1088. E.

6. He speaks of the ADORATION OF THE EUCHARIST as a universal custom.† —iv. 1065. C.

* "John Le Clerc calls in question the judgment and veracity of St. Austin in the relation of these miracles. Such discoveries were reserved, after so many ages, to this new master in the art of criticism. But it must appear strange to a Christian ear, to hear the most holy and learned doctors of the Church traduced as knaves and impostors, and the rest of the faithful put in the class of weak fools. These miracles are attested not only by St. Austin, but also by St. Possidius, Evodius, and many others. Africa at that time abounded with the most subtle, inquisitive, and penetrating geniuses, as the monuments of that age evince. If the Catholics could be presumed to have been all so weak and simple that it was easy for their Bishops to impose upon them the grossest cheats, their actions were too narrowly sifted by the Pagans, the Donatists, and the Manichees. (who were at that time very numerous in Africa,) and the Arians, who became masters of that country, whilst these miracles were in the greatest vogue. But how can we hear, without indignation, such great and holy prelates charged with carrying on so wicked and base an imposture, and this by a general conspiracy? St. Austin, especially, whose gravity, wisdom, sanctity, and learning have commanded the highest respect of all succeeding ages. This great Father, moreover, was of all others the most zealous in defending the doctrine of the Church against lying on any account. He every where demonstrates, against the Priscillianists, that it can never be lawful, in any case whatever, to tell the least wilful lie, not even to save the life of any man, because no necessity or good end can make that lawful which is essentially evil."—Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. viii., page 45.

† "Adorate scabellum pedum ejus." Ex-

7. We have his testimony that MASSES FOR THE DEAD were in accordance with the custom of the Church universal, and had been handed down by tradition.‡ At Hippo it had been customary to demand money for offering these masses. This, when he became Bishop, he forbade, but he permitted money to be offered at the time, provided it was at once given to the poor.|| The sacrifice of the Mass he held to be a true and proper sacrifice.§—vi. 130. A.D. 238. A.C.—i. 168. F.—ii. 560. F.

8. On the subject of MONASTICISM, and HOLY VIRGINITY, he has written many treatises, some of which are translated in a volume of the *Library of the Fathers*. It is sufficient to say that his teaching on these subjects is fully in accordance with that which even Anglicans generally admit to have been the unanimous belief of the Primitive Church.

9. The doctrine of PURGATORY is one of those which, in St. Augustine's day, was not as yet propounded as an article of faith, though it was generally believed. He himself believed it, and often speaks of it as if it was a thing that was even then "*eliquata et declarata*." —In some passages, he mentions it only as a pious opinion;—and in one he almost foretells that it would one day be proposed by the Church to the faithful. "It may be a matter of enquiry," he says, "whether it be so or not, and it may be discovered, or remain hidden

ponens autem mihi quod sit scabellum pedum ejus, dicit, Terra autem scabellum pedum meorum... Suscepit enim de terra terram: quia caro de terra est, et de carne Mariæ carnem accepit. Et quia in ipsa carne hic ambulavit, et ipsam carnem nobis manducandam ad salutem dedit; nemo autem illam carnem manducat nisi prius adoraverit; inventum est quemadmodum adoretur scabellum pedum Domini, et non solum non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando."

‡ "Hoc enim a patribus traditum universa observat Ecclesia."—v. 827. E.

|| Oblationes pro spiritibus dormientium... omnibus petentibus sine typo, et cum alicuius prebeantur; neque vendantur; sed si quis pro religione aliquid pecunie offerre voluerit, in presenti pauperibus eroget.—ii. 29. B.

§ "Verissimo et singulari sacrificio."—x. 94. E.

that some believers, through a certain fire of cleansing, (ignem quandam purgatorium,) in proportion as they have more or less loved perishing goods, are so much the more slowly or speedily saved." It should be remembered that even now all the Church requires to be believed is this:—"There is a Purgatory, and the souls detained there are helped by the prayers of the faithful, and particularly by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar."*

It is probable after all, that St Augustine's doubts only referred to the *fire* of Purgatory, for that the dead are benefitted by our prayers, and by the Holy Sacrifice, he makes no doubt at all.—*vii.* 634. *C.* 636. *B. F.*—*vi.* 128. *A.* 182. *A.* 222. *F.*—*iv.* 295. *C.*

These are the only Catholic doctrines of any importance which the "High-Church" Anglicans reject. They are the main grounds of their separation.

Is it not certain then that, could he now speak, he would say to them, all that he said to the Donatists? Yea, he being dead yet speaketh. Hearken, dear Reader, to his words:—

"There is nothing to detain you in so PESTIFEROUS and SACRILEGIOUS a SEPARATION, if you will but overcome your carnal affection for the obtaining of the spiritual Kingdom, and SHAKE OFF THE FEAR OF WOUNDING FRIENDSHIPS, which will avail nothing in God's judgment, in order to escape eternal punishment. Go, think over the matter, consider what can be said in answer.....WHOSO IS SEPARATED FROM THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, HOWEVER LAUDABLY HE THINKS HE IS LIVING, BY THIS CRIME ALONE, THAT HE IS SEPARATED FROM CHRIST'S UNITY, HE SHALL NOT HAVE LIFE, BUT THE WRATH OF GOD ABIDETH IN HIM."

LIII. COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE. A.D. 416.

The African Bishops held two Coun-

* Council of Trent, Session xxv.

cils in the same year against Pelagius, one at Carthage and the other at Milevis. Synodical letters were sent from both to Pope St. Innocent. From these are taken the following extracts:—

"We have caused our proceedings, Lord brother, to be laid before your holy charity, that the authority of the Apostolic See may be given to the resolutions of our lowliness, in order to the salvation of many, and to check the perversity of others."—*In op. St. Aug. Tom. ii.* 617. *B.*

LIV. COUNCIL OF MILEVIS. A.D. 416.

"As the Lord, by the CHIEF GIFT OF HIS GRACE, hath placed you in the Apostolic See, and hath furnished our times with such a chief.....We pray that you will deign to extend your pastoral diligence to the great dangers of us poor weak members of Christ... ..We think that.....they who hold such perverse sentiments will more readily yield to the authority of your Holiness, which is DERIVED FROM THE AUTHORITY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES."—*ii.* 620. *D.*

LV. ST. AURELIUS. A.D. 416.

This holy man was Bishop of Carthage in the time of St. Augustine, and after the above Councils were held, he, with St. Augustine and three other Bishops, viz., Alypius, Evodius, and Possidius, wrote on the same subject to the Holy See. In their letter they express themselves thus:—

"It is not that we are pouring our small stream of doctrine, by way of increase, into your great FOUNTAIN.....but we wish to determine whether, small as it is, it emanates from the same source as your copious stream, and we desire that by your rescripts we may be consoled by the common participation

of the same grace."—*In op. St. Aug. Tom. ii. 622. D.*

LVI. ST. INNOCENT. A.D. 416.

1. [In reply to the Council of Carthage.]

"The stability of our faith you established by true means, no less now in consulting, than before in coming to a decision. And you have thought it right to refer to our judgment, knowing what is due to the APOSTOLIC SEE, since all of you, who are placed in this position, desire to follow the Apostle from whom the Episcopate and all its authority emerged. Following in his steps, we know as well how to condemn what is evil as to approve what is praiseworthy..... PRESERVING THE CONSTITUTION OF OUR FATHERS, you think they ought not to be trampled on, because they decreed, not by a human but BY A DIVINE SENTENCE, that whatever was to be done, no matter how separated or far removed the scene of action, they should not bring it to a close until they had LAID THE MATTER BEFORE THIS SEE: in order that by its authority every just determination might be confirmed, and thence other Churches might derive (as from the FOUNTAIN of their rise all waters flow, and through the various regions of the earth run the pure streams of an undefiled source) what they should teach, &c....."—ii. 635.

2. [In reply to the Council of Milevis.]

"Diligently and congruously do ye consult the 'arcana' of the APOSTOLIC DIGNITY; the dignity of him on whom, beside those things which are without, falls the care of all the Churches; FOLLOWING THE FORM OF THE ANCIENT RULE, WHICH YOU KNOW AS WELL AS I, HAS BEEN PRESERVED ALWAYS BY THE WHOLE WORLD. Our opinion is, that our brethren and fellow-Bishops ought to refer to none other than TO PETER, that is, in truth, to the Author of his name and

dignity, as your love has now referred, whatever may prove of common advantage to the Churches THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. We decree that Pelagius and Celestius, the inventors of new doctrines, be deprived of Ecclesiastical communion by the authority of the Apostolic power."—*Ibid.*

3. "After having caused your letter to be several times read to me, I notice that a kind of injury was done to the Apostolic See, to which as to the HEAD OF THE CHURCHES that statement was sent,—the sentence of that See being still *treated as doubtful*. The renewed questioning contained in your report compels me, therefore, to repeat in plainer terms the subjects concerning which I remember having written to you."—*Ep. xvii. n. 1. Galland. t. viii. p. 575.*

4. "Observe, therefore, that this [privilege] has been assigned to that city, [Antioch] not so much on account of its magnificence, as because it is known to have been the first See of the first Apostle, where the Christian religion took its name, and has had the honour to have held within it a most celebrated assembly of the Apostles; a city which would not yield to the See of the city of Rome, save that Antioch was honoured by him but temporarily, whereas this city glories in having received him to herself, and that he there consummated [his martyrdom]."—*Ib. Ep. xxiv. n. i. p. 584.*

5. "We can not wonder that your friendliness follows the institutes of those who have gone before you, and refers to us, as to the HEAD AND CHIEF OF THE EPISCOPATE, whatever can cause any doubt; that by consulting the Apostolic See it may, even out of doubtful matters, decide on something that is certain, and that ought to be done."—*Ibid. Ep. xxxvii. n. i. p. 608.*

6. [To the Bishop of Thessalonica.]

"As those who have gone before me, Damasus, to wit, of holy memory, Siricius, and the one we have before

named, [Anastasius.] committed to your Holiness to take cognizance of whatsoever is done in your parts, it is right for you to know that my lowliness holds to the same judgment and has the same wish."—*Ibid. Tom. viii. Ep. 1.*

7. [To another Eastern Bishop.] "Take, therefore, superintendence, as OUR VICEGERENT throughout the above-named Churches.....Know that it is allowed and granted you, by the favour of the Apostolic See, when any Ecclesiastical cause, whether in your own, or in any of the above-named provinces, has to be discussed and taken cognizance of, to take to you such Bishops as you may choose, from any of the Churches by whose faithfulness and moderation you, the chief and principal judge, as being chosen by us, will direct, and, as umpire, define, whatsoever the necessity of the case in hand may demand." *Ep. xviii. n. 3. p. 572.*

No one can say, after reading these letters, that St. Innocent did not claim and exercise the Papal power as fully and decidedly as it was claimed and exercised by his successors in later ages. He speaks, in his letter to Milevis, of such power being confirmed by the famous Rule of St. Vincent. And will any one be unreasonable enough to say it was a *usurpation*? If so how could he venture, in writing to a Council of some sixty Bishops, to utter an untruth which would be readily protested against, and bring him to shame? How is it that St. Augustine did not remonstrate, or at least comment upon this extraordinary assumption of power? How is it that, on the contrary, he wrote, as we have already seen, (page 65, Quotation 23,) that St. Innocent "replicd in the manner which was *fit and becoming* in the Prelate of the Apostolic See?" This single passage in the history of the fifth century, must be sufficient, in the eyes of every candid person, to establish, beyond all question, the Divine origin of the Papal supremacy.

If this meets the eye of an enquiring Protestant—of one who cares to know whether he has or has not *grounds* for his present position, let him consider well this FACT. It is no subtle argument,—no fine-spun theory,—no ingenious difficulty, that we are suggesting. *It is an historical FACT, which no man can deny, that a Pope, in the year 417, at no greater distance from the death of the last Apostle than we are from the so-called Reformation, was uncontradicted by a single voice in the Christian world, when he declared it to be an ancient rule, universally known and universally observed, that the Churches all over the world should consult the "arcana" of the Apostolic See; and that the voice of Peter, spoken by his successors, was none other than the voice of Christ.*

Could such a pretension possibly have been put forward had it been something new,—and be urged too on a plea notoriously false,—without the whole of Christendom rising up in indignation against a presumption equally insolent and ridiculous? Imagine the Anglican Bishop of Sydney setting up a claim to universal obedience as successor of St. Peter, and saying all the world knew that when he spoke he spoke the word of Christ. Nothing short of insanity could be attributed to one who uttered so preposterous an assertion. Yet St. Innocent's letter could not have been received by the African Prelates with one whit less astonishment, unless what he said was true, i.e., unless "*they knew as well as he*" that the doctrine of Papal Supremacy "*had been preserved always by all the world.*"

LVII. ST. ZOSIMUS. A.D. 417.

"The tradition of our Fathers has conferred such an authority on the Apostolic See, which it has preserved by its Canons and regulations, that NO ONE MAY DARE TO DOUBT OF ITS DECISIONS, and the present ecclesiastical discipline existing by its

laws, in the name of Peter, from whom it is descended, exhibits that reverence which is due. For by judgment of all, canonical antiquity has wished that so great a power should be given to this apostle, which is given also by the promise of Christ our Lord, that he should loosen what had been bound, and bind what had been loosened, and that *an equal condition of power should be given to those who have with his favour been found worthy to succeed him.* For he has a care for all the Churches, but particularly for this in which he himself sat, nor will he suffer anything of its privilege to be shaken by the storm of opinion: to which Church he gave the firm foundations of his name, *which can not be moved by any commotions, and which no one can assail without danger.* Since, therefore, Peter is the head of so great authority, and has confirmed the desires of all our ancestors in every age, so that the Church of Rome is strengthened by all laws and discipline, both human and divine, whose (Peter's) place, as you know, and as priests you ought to know, most dear brethren, we hold, and *the power of whose name we possess,* still, although our authority be so great, that *no one may dare to recede from our judgment,* we have done nothing which we have not of our own accord related to you by letters, giving this to our brotherhood, that consulting together, &c".—*Ad Con. Carth. in Aug. x. App. 104.*

This letter was approved by the African Bishops, like those of St. Innocent. It is true that they found continual appeals to the Holy See inconvenient, and, on that account, urged that the Sardican Canon was not Nicene, and consequently not necessarily binding on the Church universal. But that Canon, as we have seen, related merely to the practical operation of the Papal Supremacy under certain circumstances. It is an insult to common sense to suppose, with Archbishop Laud, that one who could write

such a letter as that which has been quoted, without a word of remonstrance on the part of those to whom it was addressed, should stand in need of any canon to rest his authority upon. The offensive story of Protestants about St. Zosimus's forgery is as unreasonable as it is profane. On the subject of the supposed breach of communion between Rome and Africa, see Appendix II, No. xxxi.

LVIII. PELAGIUS. A.D. 417.

St. Augustine has left us the document which this celebrated heresiarch presented at Rome, when, like most other heretics, in the beginning of their heresy, he was endeavouring to stand well with the Holy See. After giving an artfully-worded confession of faith, he proceeds:—

"We desire that it may be amended by you who hold both the faith and the seat of St. Peter; if however, this our confession is approved by the judgment of your Apostolate, &c." *Aug. Tom. x. App. p. 97.*

LIX. CELESTIUS. A.D. 417.

[To Pope St. Zosimus.] "What I have gathered from the fountain of the Prophets and Apostles, we submit to be approved by the judgment of the Apostolic See."—*Ibid. p. 264. A.*

LX. ST. BONIFACE. A.D. 469.

1. It NEVER was allowed to agitate a question which has ONCE BEEN SETTLED by the Apostolic See.—*Ep. 13. Constant. p. 1036.*
2. "The Government of the universal Church, at its commencement, derived its origin from the dignity of the Blessed Peter, IN WHOM ITS RULE

AND MANAGEMENT ABIDE It is certain then that this [the Roman Church] is as the HEAD of its members over all other Churches, *from which if any one cut himself off, he becomes an ALIEN FROM THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, since he has ceased to be in that unity.*—*Ep. 14. Ibid. p. 1037.*

This Pontiff was held in the highest estimation by St. Augustine.

LXI. ST. CÆLESTINE. A.D. 425.

1. "We have especial anxiety about all persons on whom, in the holy Apostle Peter, Christ conferred the necessity of *making all persons our concern*, when he gave him the keys of opening and shutting."—*Ep. ad Episc. Illyr.*
2. "Invested with the authority of our See, and confirmed by the influence of our lawful succession, you shall execute with unflinching severity this sentence; either within the space of a few days, counting from this the day of our mandate, he shall condemn in a written confession his evil declaration..... or if not..... *he is to be cut off in every way from our body.*"—*Ep. ad Cyr. Alex. inter Ep. Alex. x.*
3. "We are indeed far away from you, but by our solicitude, we are present with you. The care of the Blessed Apostle Peter makes all present; we can not excuse ourselves before our Lord for what we know."—*Ep. ad Conc. Eph.*
4. "You who are present do that which we in our absence exhort you. For though to all in general, we owe this solicitude, yet especially are we bound to prevent the inhabitants of Antioch, whom a pestilential disease has attacked, from falling. Let us then lend assistance to all, to whom in religion we know ourselves to be indebted for the name we bear. But with respect to those who profess opinions similar to those of Nestorius, and who have made themselves parta-

kers in his crime, although against these your sentence stands firm, yet we have never decreed what is just. In such cases many things have to be considered, and of these the Apostolic See has ever taken cognizance." [He then recommends to receive all, who return with sorrow to the confession of the Church, and to visit with anathemas such as refuse.] "Which injunction we desire to be observed in regard to those also, who in Ecclesiastical causes, have imposed upon Christians, and contrary to order have again taken possession of the Churches."—*Ibid.*

5. "*By no limits of place is my pastoral vigilance confined*: it extends itself to all places where Christ is adored."—*Ep. ad Episc. Gal.*

St Cælestine was another Pope for whom St. Augustine had the highest reverence, and to whom he appealed in the humblest manner, under the perplexities of the African Church.

To this Pope the British nation is mainly indebted for the preservation of the pure faith. Pelagianism had been making rapid strides there when St. Germanus and St. Palladius came, the former to England, and the latter to Scotland, invested by St. Cælestine with the authority of the Holy See, and, chiefly through the miracles which it pleased Almighty God to work by their hands, the heresy was completely extinguished. See the testimony of St. Prosper.

Protestants are in the habit of saying that St. Cælestine, like the Popes who preceded him, was an arrogant usurper. Not so thought St. Augustine, or St. Prosper, or St. Vincent of Lirins, or the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus. This was the third general Council, one which the *High-Church* Divines of the Anglican communion have regarded as under the influence of the Holy Spirit. Yet how did they receive St. Cælestine's "arrogant" letter? Did they protest against his usurpation? No, they received what he said in humble submission, and obeyed his injunctions,

proceeding to pass sentence upon Nestorius, because, as they said, they were *compelled* to this course "by St. Cælestine's epistle, and the sacred Canons."

No single doctrine was more universally received by East and West in the fifth century than that of the Papal Supremacy. We have the absolutely unanimous voice of the Western Fathers on the one hand, and the consent of the two great Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon on the other.

LXII. COUNCIL OF EPHEBUS. A.D. 431.

"The Bishops," says Evagrius, "assembled under the presidency of the divine Cyril, occupying the post of Cælestine, Bishop of the elder Rome."

The holy Synod declared its judgment in the following words:—

1. "COMPELLED by the Canons, and the epistle of our most Holy Father and colleague Cælestine, Bishop of Rome, we have, with many tears, proceeded to this sad sentence."

Of St. Peter they speak thus in *Act. iii.*:—

2. "Who is the rock and the foundation of the Catholic Church, and the basis of the orthodox faith."

Philip,* one of the Papal legates, said, without a word of opposition, in this assembly of Eastern prelates, after St. Cælestine's "sacred epistle" had been read:—

3. "We acknowledge our thanks to the holy and venerable Synod, that, the letters of our holy and blessed Pope having been read to you, you have united your holy members by your voices and acclamation, to that holy HEAD; for your blessedness is not ignorant that the blessed Peter, the Apostle, was the head of all the faith, as also of the Apostles."—*Act. ii.*

And again:—

* St. Cælestine had thus instructed his legates:—"Ad disputationem si ventum fuerit, vos de eorum sententiis *DISJUDICARE* debetis, non subire certamen."

4. "It is doubted by no one, or rather it has been known through all ages, that the most holy and blessed Peter, the prince and chief of the Apostles, the pillar of faith, the foundation of the Catholic Church, received from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind, the Keys of the Kingdom; and that power was given to him to bind and to loose sins, who even NOW AND FOR EVER LIVES AND JUDGES IN HIS SUCCESSORS. Our holy and blessed father, the Bishop Cælestine, *his regular successor, and the present occupant of his place*, has sent us to this sacred Synod as representatives of his presence."—*Act. iii.*

And in *Act. iv.*, Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, said:—

5. "It was fitting that John, Bishop of Antioch,.....should obey and reverence the Apostolic chair of great Rome, which was deliberating with us and the Apostolic chair of God's holy Church at Jerusalem, by which [*Rome*, not Jerusalem, the latter was subordinate to Antioch,] in conformity with the practice authorized by Apostolic succession and tradition, the See of Antioch has ever been directed and judged."

The two hundred Eastern Bishops, who assented to these words, were fully aware of the claim that had been prominently put forward by SS. Innocent, Boniface, and Zosimus, and now again by the Pope under whom they were assembled, St. Cælestine. Four Popes in succession had been called upon by the troubles of the Church to urge their authority, and not one single Catholic Bishop had opposed it. But here, at Ephesus, there were *two hundred* Catholic Bishops, and all of them *Oriental*s, who are represented by Protestants as having been especially opposed to the growing influence of Rome. What an occasion then was it for a protest! And how unaccountable must their passive submission seem in the eyes of those who contrive to persuade themselves that they

did not admit the Supremacy of the Holy See!

Nothing but a blindness almost judicial could array the Council of Ephesus on the Protestant side. Well said St. Augustine, "*Noli mirare cæcitatem Judæorum de Christo. Ecce transit quod dicitur de Sponso, incipit dici et de Sponsâ; et quomodo in Sponso mirabaris cæcitatem Judæorum, sic in Sponsa miraberis cæcitatem hæreticorum.*"

LXIII. ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA. A.D. 432.

1. "From the figure of the rock He changed his name to Peter, for upon him did He design to found the Church."—*In Joan. i. 40.*
2. "Therefore passing by all the others He comes to Peter who was the chief of them, saying, But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not."—*In Luc. xxii.*
3. "To prove this I will call in the decided testimony of the most holy Cælestine, the ARCHBISHOP OF THE WHOLE WORLD, and the Father and Patriarch of great Rome, who, by his epistles, three times admonished you to cease your blasphemous raving, and you would not obey him."—*Enc. S. Mar.*
4. "Since God requires of us vigilance, and the LONG-ESTABLISHED USAGES OF THE CHURCHES PRESCRIBE THAT WE SHOULD HOLD COMMUNICATION WITH YOUR HOLINESS; again if necessary, I write to you, to inform you that Satan even now is embroiling everything."—*Ep. ix. ad Cælest.*
5. "We have at length been forced to the necessity of announcing to him [Nestorius] by a Synodical letter, that unless he desist from his innovations, after the day fixed by Cælestine, the most pious Bishop of the Roman Church, we shall anathematize them [his errors] in writing."—*Ep. xvi. ad Cler. C. P.*

LXIV. ST. XYSTUS. A.D. 432.

1. "I wish these things to come to the knowledge of the neighbouring bishops, through your care, that they may know that although they may have passed most satisfactory decrees with regard to this affair, yet that the Apostolic See does not idly look on, for our concern for all the Churches does not permit us to be at ease from these cares."—*Ep. ad Cyr.*
5. "The entire brotherhood COMES TO THE BLESSED APOSTLE PETER. Behold an assistance befitting the auditors—befitting what is to be heard. Our fellow-bishops had him for a witness of their mutual joy, who is the origin of our honour. For we must believe that he presided over that holy and venerable Synod, which by the Grace of God assembled on the occasion of my birth-day; since it is certain that he was absent neither in body nor spirit."—*Ibid.*
3. "Having received information respecting the Bishop of Antioch, and the others, who with him have chosen to become the followers of Nestorius, and also concerning all such as govern their Churches in a manner agreeable to Ecclesiastical use, we have made this clause in regard to them, that if they should return to a sense of duty and condemn whatever the holy Synod, WITH OUR APPROBATION has condemned, they should be re-admitted to the assembly of the priests."—*Ibid. Mansi. v. 371. 376.*

LXV. CASSIAN. A.D. 432.

"Let us ask of him who was the chief disciple among the disciples, and master among masters, who, ruling the helm of the Church of Rome, possessed THE PRIMACY OF THE PRIESTHOOD, AS WELL AS OF FAITH. Say then, we pray thee, say, O Peter, Prince of the Apostles, what the Churches ought to believe; for it is

fit that thou shouldest teach us, who wast thyself taught by the Lord, that thou shouldest open to us the gate, whose keys thou hast received. Exclude all undermining the heavenly house, and such as seek to enter by filthy bye-ways and illicit approaches; shut them out, for it is certain that none can enter the portal of the Kingdom unless it it opened unto him by that key which thou hast entrusted to the Churches; say, then, how are we to believe in Christ Jesus, and confess a common Lord?"—*De Incarn.* iii. 12.

LXVI. EUTHERIUS AND HELLADIUS. A.D. 432.

These were two heretical Bishops, the former of Tyana, the latter of Tarsus. They wrote to St. Xystus, the reigning Pontiff, protesting against the proceedings at Ephesus. Their letter is still extant, and is valuable in shewing how even the Oriental opponents of St. Cyril and the Council of Ephesus acknowledged the authority of Rome, until, (as in the history of all heresies,) Rome spoke out so plainly against them that they were forced to rebel against all authority. In their letter they compared the Pope to Moses as opposed to Jannes and Jambres, and to St. Peter as opposed to Simon Magus; he is addressed as the expected Saviour of the orthodox believers, and the divinely-appointed ruler of the Church. The constant victories of the Apostolic See over heresy, falsehood, and impiety, are elaborately set forth;—and then they proceed thus:—

"We entreat you, and we throw ourselves at the sacred feet of your Holiness, that you would stretch out a saving hand, and put an end to the shipwreck of the world, by commanding an enquiry to be made of all those things, and administering a heavenly correction to these unlawful proceedings; that those holy pastors may be restored who have unjustly

been torn from their flocks, that the former order and peace may be restored to the sheep, and that lamentations and weeping may no longer be offered up instead of prayer and psalms." *Galland. Bibl. Patrum. Tom. ix. p. 523, et seq.*

LXVII. ST. NILUS. A.D. 435.

1. "He appointed Peter the SHEPHERD OF THE WHOLE WORLD."—*Lib. ii. Ep. 75.*
2. "And look, I pray you, at Peter, who is set, after penitence, as the first stone of the Church, the HEAD of the choir of the Apostles."—*Ibid. Ep. 261.*
3. "Peter, the foremost of the Apostles, who always ruled amongst them."—*Tract ad Mag. ch. viii.*

LXVIII. ST. PROSPER. A.D. 440.

1. "Rome, the seat of Peter, which being made to the world the HEAD OF PASTORAL HONOUR, possesses by religion what it does not possess by arms."—*De ingrat. ii.*
2. "The blessed Pope Innocent, most worthy of Peter's seat....."
3. "..... As if then for the first time the Apostolic sword had cut down that proud heresy."—*Chron. an. 429.*
4. "Thou, Africa, (the THRONE OF APOSTOLIC RIGHT, joining with thee its strength,) decreest what ROME CONFIRMS, what Kingdoms follow."—*De ingrat. ii.*
5. "By the Council of 214 Bishops at Carthage, the synodal decrees were sent to Pope Zosimus, and when they had received HIS CONFIRMATION, the Pelagian heresy was condemned throughout the world."—*Chron. ad. an. 10.*
6. "The INVIOLEABLE SEAT OF BLESSED PETER thus addressed the world at large by the mouth of Pope Zosimus."—*Cont. Coll. cap. x.*

7. "Pope Zosimus, of blessed memory, CONFIRMED the decrees of the African Councils, and armed the right hands of all the Bishops with the SWORD OF PETER, for the cutting down of the wicked."—*Ibid. cap. xli.*
8. "The Pontiff Cælestine, of blessed memory, on whom the Lord bestowed many gifts of His grace for the GOVERNMENT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, by ordaining a Bishop for the Scots, [Palladius,] while he endeavoured to preserve the Catholicity of the Roman part of the island, [i.e., through Germanus,] carried Christianity also to the part that was barbarian." [i.e. by means of St. Palladius.]—*Ibid. ch. xlii.*
9. "Agricola, the Pelagian, the son of Severianus the Bishop, corrupted the Churches of Britain, by insinuating his doctrines; but by the advice of Palladius the deacon, [the same whom he afterwards sent as "primus Episcopus" to Scotland,] Pope Cælestine sent Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, AS HIS REPRESENTATIVE, in order that, after defeating the heretics, he might restore the Britons to the Catholic faith."—*Chron. an. 429.*

LXIX. ST. VINCENT OF LIRINS. A.D. 445.

1. "Examples are plentiful, but I will only make choice of one which shall be taken from the *Apostolic See*, by which all men may perceive most plainly with what force always, what zeal, what endeavour, the blessed succession of the blessed Apostles have defended the integrity of that religion which they once received..... Pope Stephen of blessed memory, Bishop of the Apostolic See, resisted, in common indeed with the rest of his fellow-bishops, but yet more than the rest, thinking it, as I suppose, reason, so much to excel all others in devotion towards the faith, as he was SUPERIOR to them in AUTHORITY OF PLACE..... In his epistle which then was sent

to Africa he decreed the same in these words."

2. "Some letters of St. Felix Martyr, and St. Julius, both Bishops of Rome, which they wrote to certain men were there read; [at the Council of Ephesus,] and, that not only the HEAD OF THE WORLD but also the other parts should give testimony in that judgment, from the south they had blessed St. Cyprian, &c."
3. "All which, albeit they were abundantly sufficient for the overthrow and extinguishing of all profane novelties, yet, lest that aught should in such plenty of proof be wanting, we will add for a conclusion, a twofold authority of the *Apostolic See*, the one of holy Pope Sixtus [or Xystus, whose claim we have already seen,] which venerable man now adorneth the Church of Rome; the other of Pope Cælestine of blessed memory, his predecessor, which I have thought needful here also to insert. The holy Pope Sixtus then in his epistle which he sent to the Bishop of Antioch, touching the course of Nestorius, saith thus,[after the quotation]Apostolically spoken!Pope Cælestine is also of the same opinion..... This then was the blessed opinion of the blessed Cælestine."
4. "Which APOSTOLIC* and Catholic DECREES whomsoever resists, first of necessity he must formally condemn the memory of St. Cælestine, who determined that novelty should cease

* "Apostolic" as issuing from Rome—on the meaning of the phrase see page 34. Tertullian called St. Zephyrinus "Apostolic" in derision. Celestius we have seen addressing the Pope with the title, "your Apostolate," and we shall find the same title made use of at the Council of Chalcedon. The Eastern Churches, according to St. Athanasius, called the Bishops of Rome "Apostolics." The appellation of "the Apostolic See" meets us at almost every page. Theodoret speaks of St. Leo using his "Apostolic" power; St. Prosper of St. Cælestine's "Apostolic" sword. So that there can be little doubt as to St. Vincent's meaning, when he says, "Apostolically spoken," and condemns those who resist "Apostolic decrees."

molesting antiquity. Again, he must scoff at the decree of *St. Sixtus*, whose judgment is that nothing further be allowed to novelty because it is not fitting that ought be added to antiquity.....Again he must condemn Cyril.....likewise the Council of Ephesus finally the whole Church." — *From his Commonitorium.**

There can be little doubt that St. Vincent, had he lived till the next Œcumenical Council, after that of which he speaks so much in his "Commonitorium," viz., the Council of Ephesus, would have been still more explicit on the subject of Papal authority in the preservation of doctrine. The question of a centre of unity, or of jurisdiction would not come into his little work. What he does say, however, is quite enough to show that the increase of the deference paid to the Pope as the conservator of Orthodoxy, which appears so startlingly at the Council of Chalcedon, would be a carrying out of the principle he maintained in his 25th chapter.

I. In choosing an example of energy in the defence of Apostolic tradition, he goes, as probably every Catholic in the world would have done, to the Apostolic See.

II. He calls the line of Roman Bishops "the blessed succession of the blessed Apostles."

III. He says St. Stephen exercised peculiar authority, and *highly approves* of such exercise, saying nothing of his "arrogance," like Protestants, but aluding in terms of reverence to his proceedings, and selecting them to hold out as an example. Nor does he think that his zeal went beyond discretion, for he calls him "a holy and prudent man."

IV. He says, in plain terms, that the Bishop of Rome is superior to other Bishops in authority.

V. He speaks of the Papal decrees.

VI. He calls Rome the Head of the World, and doubtless in the same sense

as St. Prosper, his countryman and contemporary.

VII. He has a distinct chapter on "the authority of Sixtus and Cælestine in condemnation of novelty in doctrine."

In a work upon TRADITION, a Catholic writer of the present day would not be likely to say *so much* about the Pope.

As St. Vincent, on account of his famous "rule" is a favourite father with Anglicans, it may be worth while to dwell upon his testimony.

He was of course familiar with the controversy between St. Stephen and St. Cyprian. He knew that the former not only exercised authority, as he himself witnesses, but did so on the ground of his being the successor of St. Peter. If he disapproved of that claim, or thought it inconsistent with Apostolic tradition, can it be believed that he would have made an especial selection of his particular case to illustrate the matter in hand? Is it possible to conceive that he, like St. Firmilian in the heat of controversy, or Anglicans with the Protestant theory to maintain, considered St. Stephen's claim an *arrogant usurpation*? St. Firmilian indeed did *not* so consider it. He thought St. Stephen abused his authority, and censured him for boasting of it, instead of using it as he ought.

In the remarks upon the testimony of Tertullian and St. Cyprian, much stress was laid on the fact that the former set an example in protesting against the transmission of St. Peter's authority, which St. Cyprian and St. Firmilian would assuredly have followed, if they had been able to do so consistently with Catholic truth. St. Vincent is another witness on the same side; and his evidence is the stronger, because, since St. Stephen's time, as we have seen, there had been a succession of Popes, all of whom had, in the plainest terms, vindicated their claims to universal jurisdiction as the occupants of St. Peter's chair.

(1) A.D. 342. ST. JULIUS made the same claim, and exercised the same authority. His claim was resisted by none but the Eusebian or Arian heretics, and

* The Oxford Translation has been used.

was supported by St. Athanasius, and the contemporary prelates of the Eastern Church. It is confirmed, in the most decided manner, by the Eastern Historians, SOCRATES, SOZOMEN, and THEODORET.

(2) A.D. 347. The COUNCIL OF SARDICA had said, "*Hoc enim optimum et valde congruentissimum esse videbitur, si ad CAPUT i.e., ad Petri Apostoli sedem de singulis quibusque provinciis Domini referant sacerdotes.*"

(3) A.D. 366. ST. DAMASUS had claimed, and his claim had been admitted by ST. JEROME, ST. BASIL, AMBROSIASTER, and the COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

(4) A.D. 385. ST. SIRICIUS had claimed, and ST. AMBROSE and ST. OPTATUS had admitted the claim.

(5) A.D. 416. ST. INNOCENT had claimed, and ST. AUGUSTINE, AURELIUS, and some 230 African Bishops, had assented.

(6) A.D. 417. ST. ZOSIMUS had claimed, and in spite of the great practical inconvenience occasioned by the frequent appeals to the Holy See, and the manner in which Papal decrees had been enforced by the civil power, —in spite of the sort of "Gallicanism" which seemed to be growing up in Africa, his claim was fully admitted by the same prelates who had yielded their allegiance to St. Innocent.

(7) A.D. 419. ST. BONIFACE had claimed, and again the same prelates had assented.

(8) A.D. 425. ST. CELESTINE had claimed, as St. Vincent had himself witnessed; and ST. PROSPER's opinion about this great saint was doubtless familiar to him.

(9) A.D. 432. ST. XYSTUS had claimed, and *was claiming* at the very time St. Vincent wrote.

With all these facts before him, it was impossible that St. Vincent could be ignorant of what Protestants would have called "the pretensions of Rome."

The question then is simply this. Does the little that is said in St. Vincent's "Commonitorium" argue that he *approved* or *disapproved* of such "pre-

tensions"? If we must in candour confess that he thoroughly and heartily approved of them, then the next question is, whether the "Rule of Vincentius" will apply to the Papal Supremacy or not? In determining this, we must choose between St. Vincent himself, and "the Divines of the 17th (or the 19th) century."

The decision of one whose mind is not chained down by human traditions, will be very easy.

LXX. ST. PROCLUS. A.D. 445.

1. "Peter the CHIEF of the disciples and the HEAD of the Apostles.—*Orat. viii. p. 391.*
2. "He appointed thee the key-bearer of Heaven."—*Ibid.*

LXXI. ST. ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM. A.D. 445.

Like St. Proclus, and all the other fathers, St. Isidore speaks of St. Peter's pre-eminence, giving him titles as a matter of course. The object of citing them as witnesses is to show how universally St. Peter's primacy was regarded as a subject of *practical interest*. But for the Catholic doctrine of the Supremacy of his successor, it could have no such interest. It is not e.g. a *Protestant* topic of preaching.*

* The writer has once, and only once, heard from a Protestant preacher a sermon on the subject of St. Peter's primacy. The object of the sermon seems to have been to admit the very utmost in St. Peter's favour, and then to show that such admissions did not militate against the position of the English Church. The preacher "maintained that the Church was founded on the *person* of St. Peter—that St. Peter, in an especial sense, received the keys—that our Lord, in an especial and peculiar manner, prayed for St. Peter, and appointed him to be the strengthener of his brethren—that he received the knowledge of Christ directly from the Father, whereas others received it through *him* (St. Peter)—that in the commission to feed the flock two words were used, one of which implied government—

LXXII. ST. EUCHERIUS. A.D. 445.

"He says to him, Feed my sheep; first, He commits the lambs to him, then the sheep, because he makes Him not Pastor only, but PASTOR OF PASTORS. Peter therefore feeds lambs and sheep, feeds children and mothers, rules both subjects and prelates. He is the Pastor of all these, for besides lambs and sheep, there is nothing in the Church."—*Hom. in Vig. Pet. et Paul.*

LXXIII. ST. MAXIMUS OF TURIN. A.D. 450.

1. "Thou, Peter, didst first confess me on earth; I will endow thee with the PERPETUAL PRIMACY in Heaven, and in my Kingdom. And what, brethren, is more equitable than that the Church should be founded upon him who laid such a foundation for the Church? What more just than that he who manifested the Lord of Heaven should receive the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven? Inasmuch as he who laid open the door of faith to believers also unlocked to them the gates of Heaven."—*Serm. v. in Nat. Ap.*
2. "Peter received a greater grace than that which he had lost; for as a good shepherd he received the flock to keep, that so he who previously had shown himself so weak, might become a support to all men; and he who had trembled when tried by a question, might, by the firmness of his faith, establish the rest. In fine, on account of the solidity of his devotedness, he is called the rock of the

that Clergy as well as Laity, Apostles as well as people, were committed to his care—that lambs meant the Clergy, (!) and sheep the Laity;—and that St. Peter exercised a peculiar primacy over the whole Church, immediately after our Lord's ascension."—*Letter to the Lord Bishop of Sydney. The lambs, he urged, "were those first preachers of the Gospel who were sent forth by our Lord as lambs among wolves."—(Luke x. 3.)"*

Churches, as the Lord declares, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.' For he is called a rock because he was the first to lay the foundations of the faith amongst the nations, and because, like a universal rock, he binds together the compacted mass of the whole structure of Christianity. Peter, therefore, is called a rock on account of his devotedness; while the Lord is called a rock on account of His power."—*Hom. iv. de Petro.*

3. "Of how great merit before his God was Peter, that after rowing his little boat, there should be consigned to him THE HELM OF THE WHOLE CHURCH."—*Hom. i. in Pet. et. Paul.*

LXXIV. ST. PETER CHRYSOLOGUS. A.D. 450.

1. "When He is about to return to Heaven, He commends His sheep to Peter, that he may feed them in His STEAD."—*Serm. ii.*
2. "He, therefore, [Peter,] is the guardian of the faith, the rock of the Church, and the doorkeeper of Heaven."—*Serm. c. xvii.*
3. "Peter denies Him; John flies; Thomas doubts; all abandon Him; to whom had not Christ given His peace, both Peter who was the FIRST of all of them, might have been thought inferior, and the follower might perhaps have been unduly lifted up against the CHIEF."—*Serm. lxxix.*
4. "Let Peter hold his LONG-ESTABLISHED PRIMACY over the Apostolic chair; let him open the Kingdom of Heaven for those who enter in; let him, with power bind the guilty, with clemency absolve the penitent."—*Serm. clii.*
5. "For every reason we exhort you, most honoured brother, that you submit yourself to what has been written by the most blessed Father of the city of Rome; since the blessed Peter, who LIVES AND PRESIDES IN HIS OWN SEE,

supplies truth of faith to those who seek it."—*Ep. ad. Eutyech. op. p. xlvii.*

LXXV. THEODORET. A.D. 450.

We have seen some of the testimony of this Father in that of St. Damasus, for he it is who has preserved the document there quoted. The following quotations show that his doctrine and his practice are consistent with his history:—

1. "He [St. Paul] confers an honour befitting the HEAD."—*In. Gai. i. 18.*
2. "If Paul, that herald of truth, that trumpet of the Holy Ghost, repaired to Peter to bring from him an explanation to those of Antioch, who were disputing concerning questions of the law, with much greater reason do we, who are so worthless and lowly, hasten to your Apostolic throne, to receive from you a cure for the wounds of the Churches. For it pertains to you to HOLD THE PRIMACY IN ALL THINGS. For your throne is adorned with many prerogatives.....If immediately after receiving the seeds of the saving Gospel, it [Rome] abundantly produced fruits so admirable, what language shall suffice to celebrate the true faith which now prevails within it. It contains also the tombs of our common Fathers and teachers of the truth, Peter and Paul,—tombs which illuminate the souls of the faithful. Their thrice-blessed and divine twin-star rose indeed in the East, and diffused its beams on all sides, but had the setting of its existence, by choice, in the West, and thence even now illumines the world. These have made your throne most illustrious; this is the culminating point of your blessedness. [After referring to one of St. Leo's letters, he continues]: but we, after having admired your spiritual wisdom, give praise to the grace of the Holy Spirit *which spoke through you*, and we pray, and beseech, and beg, and supplicate your Holiness, guard from injury the storm-tossed Churches

of God. [Then, after narrating his grievances:] I await the sentence of your Apostolic See, and I entreat your Holiness to aid me, who appeal to your upright and just judgment, and to command me to hasten to you and to exhibit my teaching which follows in the footsteps of the Apostles..... Should you command me to abide by what has been adjudged, I will do so, and to no one will I give further trouble, but will await the just judgment of our God and Saviour."—*Ep. ad Leon. cxiii.*

3. "I will, therefore, beseech of your Holiness [Rhenatus] to persuade the most holy and blessed Archbishop [Leo] to use his Apostolic power, and to command me to come to your Council; for that all-holy See has the office of heading the whole world's Churches for many reasons, and, above all others, because it has remained free of heretical taint, and no one of heterodox sentiments hath sat in it, but it hath preserved the Apostolic grace unsullied."—*Ep. cxvi. ad Rhenat.*

LXXVI. THE EMPEROR VALENTIAN III. A.D. 450.

This Emperor, at the request of St. Leo, wrote to Theodosius, who was at that time Emperor of the East, to obtain his concurrence in summoning a general Council. In the letter he says:—

1. "We are bound to preserve inviolate, in our times, the PREROGATIVE OF PARTICULAR REVERENCE to the blessed Apostle St. Peter; that the most blessed Bishop of Rome, TO WHOM ANTIQUITY HAS ASSIGNED THE PRIESTHOOD OVER ALL, may have place and opportunity of judging concerning the faith and the priests."—*Conc. tom. i. p. 731.*

The following decree is to the same purpose:—

2. "Since, therefore, the authority of the sacred Synod [Nice] has CONFIRMED THE PRIMACY OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE,

which is the recompense of the blessed Peter, the chief of the circle of Bishops, and the honour of the Roman city, let no one presumptuously dare to attempt anything illicit in opposition to the authority of that See. Then at length will the peace of the Churches be maintained, and all will acknowledge their rulers."—*Const. de ep. ordine. (Ep. xi. inter Leon. ed. Ball.)*

LXXVII. THE EMPRESS GALLA PLACIDIA. A.D. 450.

This was Theodosius' mother. She wrote to her son upon the same subject, and this is an extract from her letter:—"While our first care on entering the ancient city was to render due worship [cultus] to the blessed Apostle Peter, the most reverend Bishop Leo, who was himself adoring at the altar of the Martyr, remained awhile after he had ended his prayers, and complained to me, with tears, about the state of the Catholic faith, calling to witness the chief of the Apostles to whom we had just had recourse. He was surrounded by a crowd of Bishops, whom, by virtue of THE PRIMACY OF HIS OFFICE or his peculiar dignity, he had assembled from the numerous cities of Italy." [She then goes on to speak of the disorderly proceedings of the Latrocinium of Ephesus and of the custom of the Pope's legates taking part in all Councils, which she says is "according to the decrees of the Council of Nice," and she concludes thus:—] "By this favour, then, may your kindness direct, in opposition to the prevailing confusion, that the true faith of the Catholic religion be preserved immaculate, namely, by seeing that, in accordance with the form and definition of the Apostolic See, which we both equally venerate as of PARAMOUNT AUTHORITY, Flavian may be secured unharmed in his See, and the matter be transferred to the judgment of a Council, and the Apostolic See,

in which he who was first worthy to receive the heavenly keys, ordained the HEADSHIP OF THE EPISCOPATE. It is fitting, too, that we should pay all due deference to this city which is the mistress of all over which you rule. Diligently, then, do you take care in this matter, lest what our generation has preserved from ancient times should seem to be now in danger, and lest by precedent now established, schisms should be occasioned between Bishops and the holy Church."—*Conc. tom. i. page 731.*

Theodosius, being a Eutyehian, took the part of the schismatics against the Pope and the Catholics, and, in his reply to these letters, justified the Latrocinium of Ephesus, and the deposition of St. Flavian. He declined, therefore, to call a general Council. St. Leo might have done this, had he pleased, through Valentinian, but his object was to save the Eastern Churches, and for this end it was expedient to have the co-operation of the Emperor of the East. Accordingly he waited until the death of Theodosius, and with his successor, Marcion, he prevailed.

LXXVIII. THE EMPEROR MARCION. A.D. 451.

On the accession of Marcion, he and Valentinian united in addressing the Pope, like true Catholics, and begging his prayers:—

1. "We deem it right, in the first instance, to address your Holiness, holding as you do the HEADSHIP OF THE EPISCOPATE of the Divine faith, begging and beseeching your Holiness to pray for the strength and stability of our empire, and that our designs and counsels may be so ordered that, every error being removed by the synod now to be assembled BY YOUR AUTHORITY, the greatest peace may be established among the Bishops of the Catholic faith."
- Marcion afterwards wrote to St. Leo

to consult him about the place where he (Leo) wished to hold the Council, *in order that the assembled Bishops might declare "what his Holiness, according to Ecclesiastical rule, should define."*

Subsequently to the Council of Chalcedon, he wrote :—

2. "Which [the non-arrival of the Papal confirmation] has been the cause of much doubt to the minds of some who still pursue after the vanity and perversity of Eutyches, *whether your Holiness has sanctioned the decrees of the sacred Synod.* Wherefore your Holiness will see fit to send letters, whereby it may be evident to all the Churches and people, that what has been transacted in the sacred Synod *has the sanction of your Holiness.*"—*Int. Ep. Leon. cx.*

LXXIX. THE BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF ARLES. A.D. 451.

"..... believing that it is full of reason and justice, that as through the most blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, the INVIOABLE ROMAN CHURCH HOLDS THE PRINCIPALITY OVER ALL THE CHURCHES OF THE WORLD, so, among the Gallican Churches, the Church of Arles, which merited to have the holy Trophimus sent as its Priest by the Apostles, should have the supreme power of ordaining."—*Int. Ep. Leon. x.*

LXXX. ST. LEO THE GREAT. A.D. 451.

1. "He is first in the confession of our Lord who is first in Apostolic dignity, to whom when he had said, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,' Jesus answered, 'Blessed art thou Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee but my Father who is in Heaven'.....'and I say unto thee,' that is, as my Father has manifested to me thy divinity, so I make known to you your pre-emi-

nence. 'Thou art Peter,' that is, as I am an immoveable rock, as I am a corner-stone who make either part of the building one, yet thou also art a rock, because by my virtue thou art made firm, in order that those things which are mine by right, should be by participation, common to you with me."—*In Nat. Apost. Pet. et Paul. Serm. i.*

2. "'I have prayed for thee, &c.,' all the Apostles shared the danger of temptation through fear, and equally stood in need of Divine protection.....and yet our Lord took especial care of Peter, and prayed in a peculiar manner for Peter's faith ;—as if the state of the others would be more secure if the mind of the chief remained steadfast."—*Ibid.*
3. "The Holy Ghost is given to all the Apostles by the inspiration of our Lord, and to the blessed Apostle Peter, who had received the keys of the Kingdom, *the care of the Lord's flock above the rest is committed.*"—*De Asc. Dom. Serm. i.*
4. "Out of the whole world Peter alone is chosen to be over the assembly of all nations, and over the Apostles, and over all the Fathers of the Church, that although there are many priests over the people of God, and many pastors, yet Peter should in his own right rule all whom supremely Christ also ruleth. Great and wonderful, much beloved, is the participation in His own power which the Divine condescension has assigned to this Apostle ; and if He wished that other prelates should have the power with him, *He never gave, unless through him, what from others he did not withhold.*"—*In anniv. ass. serm. ii.*
5. "The most blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostolic Order, is appointed to the citidel of the Roman Empire, in order that the light of truth which was revealed for the salvation of all nations, might the more effectually diffuse itself from the HEAD through the whole body of the world."—*In Nat. Apost. Pet. et Paul. Serm. i.*

6. "The secret of this gift He wished so to belong to the office of all the Apostles, that it should be principally in the most blessed Peter, *the chief of all the Apostles*, that He might thus as from a source so diffuse His gift over the whole body, that *whoever should presume to recede from a firm union with Peter, might know that he is deprived of this Divine mystery*. For He made Peter participator of His own unity, calling him by His own name, when He said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church,' to the end that the building of the eternal temple might, by the grace of God, rest upon the strength of Peter, consolidating the strength of this His Church."—*Ep. v.*
7. "The blessed Peter abiding in the strength of the rock which he received, *hath not deserted the helm of the Church that was entrusted to him*..... who with FULLER AND MORE POWERFUL EFFECT discharges the office committed to him, and fulfils every part of his functions and duties in and with Him through whom he was glorified. If any thing then is rightly done, rightly decreed by us, if any thing by God's mercy is obtained through our daily prayers, it is because of the works and merits of him in whose SEE HIS OWN POWER LIVES AND EXCELS. For this, much beloved, did that confession obtain which, breathed by God the Father into the heart of the Apostle, transcended all uncertainty of human opinions, and received the strength of a rock that should be shaken by no assaults..... For this reason it is that to-day's festival, [that of his accession to the Pontificate,] is celebrated with a reasonable service, that in the person of my humility he may be understood, he may be honoured, in whom the care of all pastors, together with the guardianship of the sheep committed to him continues, and WHOSE DIGNITY ALSO FAILS NOT in his unworthy heirs. Whereupon the much desired and honoured presence of my brethren and co-priests will be the more sacred and devout, if they refer the piety of the service, at which they have thought it right to be present, mainly to him whom they know to be not only prelate of this See, but the PRIMATE OF ALL BISHOPS. When our exhortations then reach the ears of your Holiness, be assured that they are his, whose office we discharge."—*In an. ass. Serm. ii.*
8. "We are not wanting in the confidence we have obtained from the most blessed Peter and head of the Apostles, that he hath authority to defend the truth for the peace of the Church."—*Ep. xliii.*
9. "These are they who have adorned thee to this glory, that being made the head of the world, by being the See of Peter, thou hast a wider extent of religious empire than of earthly dominion. For though by thy many victories, thou hast extended thy dominions, far and near, by sea and land, yet, that which has been subdued by the labour of thy arms, is not so much as that which has BEEN MADE SUBJECT TO THEE by Christian peace."—*Serm. i. in St. Pet. et. Paul.*
10. "I have sent letters to the aforesaid Bishop [Eusebius] by which he may learn that I am displeased that he should remain silent upon what has been transacted in so great a cause, whereas he ought to have been anxious to give us immediate intelligence of all. Yet we believe that *after being admonished*, he will send us information."—*Ep. xxiv.*
11. "Since the most blessed Peter received the APOSTOLIC PRIMACY from the Lord, and the Roman Church remains steadfast in his doctrine, it is wrong to believe that his holy disciple Mark, who first governed the Church of Alexandria, formed decrees by other rules of his own traditions, since doubtless being drawn from the same fount of grace, the spirit of the disciple and master would have been one; nor could the ordained teach anything but what he received from him

- who ordained him. We can not, therefore, suffer that professing to be members of one body and one faith, we should differ in any thing, and that the master should seem to have taught one thing and the disciple another."—*Ep. ix.*
12. "And since our care is extended over all the Churches, for this is required of us by our Lord, who gave to the most blessed Apostle Peter, in reward of his faith, THE PRIMACY IN THE APOSTOLIC DIGNITY, firmly establishing the universal Church on the foundation of this Apostle, we share our necessary solicitude with those who are united with us by the love of fellowship."—*Ep. v.*
13. "Amongst the most blessed Apostles there was a distinction of power in a similitude of honour, and though there was a like election of all, it was still granted to one to be above the rest. From which constitution has arisen a distinction of Bishops, and by a wise ordination has it been provided that each one should not adjudge the whole to himself, but that in separate provinces there should be separate Bishops whose opinion should be esteemed of greatest weight amongst the brethren; and that again there should be some appointed in the greater cities, who should share a greater responsibility, through whom the care of the universal Church should CONCENTRATE IN THE ONE CHAIR OF PETER, and that in nothing should there be any dissension from the HEAD."—*Ep. xii.*
14. "Anatolius did, by the favour of my assent, obtain the bishopric of Constantinople."—*Ep. cv.*
15. "We will that Donatus, [in Africa,] preside over the Lord's flock, upon condition that he remembers to send us an account of his faith."—*Ep. xii.*
16. [To the Bishop of Thessalonica.] "We have entrusted thy charity to be in OUR STEAD, so that thou art called into part of the solicitude not into the plenitude of authority."—*Ep. v.*
17. "We are glad that the things which had been first decreed by our office should have been confirmed by the final decision of our brethren there assembled, proving that that which issues from the first of all Sees, and has received the sanction of the Christian world, is Divine."—*Ep. lxiii.*

LXXXI. COUNCIL OF MILAN.
A.D. 451.

[To St. Leo.] "Most holy and blessed Father, it has seemed right to all these, whose names the underannexed inscription will manifest, that such as maintain impious opinions respecting the ministry of the incarnation of our Lord, although receding by the perversity of their understanding from the truth of the Catholic faith, they have rendered themselves deserving to be cast off,—that these, by the consent of the undersigned, and the previous decision of your authority, should be visited with a befitting condemnation.—*Inter. Leon. Ep. xcvi.*

Thus have we traced, in the testimony of eighty-one witnesses, (or we may say of many hundreds, if we reckon the Bishops assembled at the Councils cited,) the gradual development of the Papal Supremacy. We have brought our "Catena" down to about three centuries and a half from the death of St. John, at which period the claims of the Bishop of Rome were as openly asserted, and as generally acquiesced in, as in any subsequent century that could be named. The question is, whether the claim was a usurpation, and the general submission a proof of abject and unreasonable obsequiousness on the part of the Churches, or whether the generally-expressed opinion was true, that the successors of St. Peter were by the Divine Will Supreme rulers of the Church of God.

Now, if anything could decide this question, it would be the witness which we shall summon in conclusion, to set, as we hope, for ever at rest, any doubts that may linger in our reader's mind.

It is the FOURTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL. This was the most important Council, in point of numbers, that ever met, consisting of 630 Bishops. Of these all but four were Greeks. They were jealous for the honour of New Rome, their own great capital of Constantinople; and they were already unsettled by that restless spirit, which made the East to be the hot-bed wherein almost every kind of heresy was nursed. At any rate, no one can say that they were partisans of Rome, or that the Pope was likely to have any influence over them, other than they chose to admit as a matter of conscience.

If then we find the Eastern Prelates rising unanimously against the "usurpation" of Leo and his predecessors;—if we find them denouncing plainly the recent interference with the affairs of the East;—if we find them offended with the presumption of the Papal legates, and rejecting their demands, or reprimanding their insolence;—we shall consider the Protestant notion worth at least some attention. Nay, if even one party, or one individual, raises his voice as a Protestant would have raised it, we shall be content to listen with some degree of patience to what our adversaries assert. But if, on the contrary, we find not only that there is no protest, but that the Council with one consent yield the very same submission to the Apostolic See that was yielded in the West;—if we find that the Pope's claims are, one by one, in express terms confirmed;—if we find that St. Leo's authority was paramount, and, in a word, that the Council is as clearly on the side of Rome, as the Councils of Florence or of Trent;—then we shall consider ourselves perfectly justified in dismissing the Protestant assertion that antiquity is against the Papal claim of Supremacy, as one of the boldest perversions of truth that was ever devised by the great enemy of man.

LXXXII. COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON. A.D. 451.

After a speech from the Emperor Marcion, and an expression of the Council's loyalty in cries of "Long live the King," the proceedings were opened by the Papal legate Paschasinus, who, with his fellow-legates, presided in the name of St. Leo. He spoke thus:—

1. "We have instructions from the most blessed and Apostolic Pope of the city of Rome, which is THE HEAD OF ALL CHURCHES, by which HIS APOSTLESHIP has thought fit to enjoin that Dioscorus, Archbishop of Alexandria, shall not sit with us, but be put on his defence."

Here in the outset is a direct exercise of supreme power over the Patriarch of Alexandria. It was at once allowed, and Dioscorus, who had taken his seat in the Council, was compelled to withdraw.

Lucentius, one of the other legates, explained that the reason of this step was that Dioscorus had,—

2. —"Presumed to hold a Council without the authority of the Apostolic See, which was UNLAWFUL."

Let it be remembered that the Council alluded to was called by the Emperor Theodosius, and Dioscorus had presided at it by direction of the Emperor himself.

The next act of the Council was to admit Theodoret to his seat. He had been excluded at first, because of his deposition by the Latrocinium. His admission was now urged by the imperial officers, on the ground that,—

3. —"The most holy Archbishop Leo had RESTORED him to his Episcopal dignity."

Dioscorus was then placed upon his trial, and "libels" were read against him. Each of these libels, as well as other documents presented to the Council, were addressed:—

4. "The libel of [this or that witness] to Pope Leo and the Council of Chalcedon."

The documents invariably begin with these or the like words:—

5. "To the most holy and most blessed UNIVERSAL ARCHBISHOP, &c."

After the libels had been read, sentence was at once passed, without putting the question to the Council, by Paschasinus, the Papal legate. It was pronounced in the following terms:—

6. "The aggressions committed by Dioscorus, late Bishop of Alexandria, have been clearly proved. For not to mention the mass of his offences, he did on his own authority uncanonically admit to communion his partisan Eutyches, after having been canonically deprived by his own Bishop, namely, our sainted Father and Archbishop Flavian, and this before he sat in Council with the other Bishops at Ephesus. To them, indeed, THE HOLY SEE GRANTED PARDON for the transactions of which they were not the deliberate authors, and they have hitherto continued obedient to the most holy Archbishop Leo, and the body of the holy and universal Synod, on which account he also admitted them into communion with him as being his fellows in faith; whereas Dioscorus has continued to maintain a haughty carriage, on account of those very circumstances over which he ought to have bewailed, and humbled himself to the earth. Moreover, he did not even allow the epistle to be read which the blessed Pope Leo had addressed to Flavian, of holy memory; and that too, notwithstanding he was repeatedly exhorted thereto by the hearers, and had promised with an oath to that effect. The result of the epistle not being read has been to fill the most holy Churches throughout the world with scandals and mischief. Notwithstanding, however, such presumption, *it was our purpose to deal mercifully with him as regards his past iniquity, as we had done to the other Bishops*, although they had not held an equal judicial authority with him. But inasmuch as he has, by his subsequent conduct, overshot his former

iniquity, and has presumed to pronounce excommunication against Leo, the most holy and religious Archbishop of Great Rome; since moreover in the presentation of a paper full of grievous charges against him to the holy and great Synod, he refused to appear, &c., &c.,..... he has thus given his own verdict against himself. Whereupon LEO, the most holy and blessed Archbishop of the great and elder Rome, has, BY THE AGENCY OF OURSELVES AND THE PRESENT SYNOD, in conjunction with the thrice-blessed and all-honoured Peter, who is the rock and foundation of the Catholic Church, and of the orthodox faith, DEPRIVED HIM OF THE EPISCOPAL DIGNITY, and every priestly function. Accordingly this holy and great Synod decrees the provisions of the Canons against the aforesaid Dioscorus."—

To this, without a word of remonstrance, the Prelates assembled gave, one after another, their full assent, beginning with Anatolius, the Bishop of Constantinople.

The sentence was then committed to writing, and signed by the whole Synod. Paschasinus, Lucentius, and Boniface, the Legates, severally signed first, appending their names to these words:—

7. "On the part of Leo, of the City of Rome, the most blessed and Apostolical Pope of the universal Church, PRESIDING at this holy Synod, I have subscribed to the condemnation of Dioscorus, with the unanimous assent of the Council."

These were followed by Anatolius and the rest in order. Their signatures are of course an assent to the propriety of the first signatures.

The Council then proceeded to draw up a confession of faith, as a defence against the Eutychian heresy. Before they did this, several documents were read, but that by which they were almost entirely guided was the epistle of Leo. Directly this was read, the Bishops exclaimed,

8. "This is the faith of the Fathers; this is the faith of the Apostles: we

all believe this; the orthodox believe this; anathema to him who does not thus believe. PETER HAS SPOKEN BY LEO."

A Formula was then prepared which, though orthodox, was not precisely such as St. Leo had instructed his legates to carry. They objected therefore, not arguing the point, but simply saying that it *must* be as they wished, or they would at once return to Rome. They persevered and gained their point, in spite of some opposition; and the Council's definition, as has been well observed, might be called "the creed of Pope Leo."*

The celebrated 28th Canon, which was the result of the growing ambition of the East, and which the Bishops contrived to pass in the absence of the Papal legates, did not receive St. Leo's confirmation, and was consequently held to be null and void, both in the East and West, until at a subsequent period it received the Papal sanction. Here then was an opportunity for declaring their sentiments upon the *peculiar* primacy claimed by the successors of St. Peter. Yet we find that peculiar primacy expressly acknowledged before they go on to give to the Bishop of Constantinople the privileges which, so far as they were derived from the importance of the city, they declared should be the same as those of the Bishop of Rome.

9. "We judge that THE PRIMACY AND THE PECULIAR HONOUR [*τα πρωτεια και της εξουσιους τιμης*] according to the Canons, be preserved to the most beloved of God, the Archbishop of Ancient Rome."

We have had occasion to allude, more than once, to the fact that the Ancients were in the habit of referring to Canons relating to the functions of the Pope. We have another instance of this here, and it may be well to remind our readers that no such Canons are extant, and that it is but fair to gather from the prevailing sentiments of the Church, which are so conspicuous in this Council, what the tenor of those Canons proba-

bly was. Doubtless they defined the "peculiar" office of St. Peter's successors, as the Creeds defined the faith of St. Peter; nor can it be said that power was by such Canons *conferred* upon the Pope, any more than that by the Creeds new articles of faith were imposed upon the people. Had the Creeds been lost, we could with little difficulty, gather from the Acts of the Councils, and the writings of the Fathers, what their *substance* must have been; so now, we may, with equal ease, gather what was the substance of the Canons in question.

But though the Primacy and the peculiar honour of the Holy See were derived from Christ Himself, and therefore not conferred by the Church, there is no doubt that many privileges *were* conferred upon him as the Bishop of the Chief City, and for the convenience of the Church. *Such* privileges, and such only, did the Eastern Prelates desire to confer on Constantinople, but as they were aware that in doing this they were interfering with the ancient rights of Alexandria and Antioch, and that the Legates of St. Leo had been charged to prevent any infringement of the Nicene discipline, they carried their point when the Legates happened to be absent, and trusted to their powers of persuasion to induce St. Leo to give a subsequent consent. With this object they wrote to him a letter, in which they express themselves thus:—

10. "We have to inform you that there are other things that we have ordained for the establishing of order, and the maintenance of canonical discipline, under the persuasion that our proceedings would have YOUR APPROVAL AND CONFIRMATION as soon as you were made aware of them. We confirmed, then, the Canon of the Council of Constantinople, which ordained that the Bishops of that city should have privileges of honour after your most holy and Apostolic chair, in the conviction that as you dispose of your favours without any invidious feeling towards your brethren, so you would extend YOUR WONTED CARE to

* See Essay on Development, page 308.

the Church of Constantinople, and enlighten it with your Apostolic ray. Deign, therefore, most holy and most blessed Father, to ALLOW OUR DECISION. Your legates, we acknowledge, were averse to this measure, no doubt from a desire of securing to you the honour of advancing, in the first instance, the matter of order, as well the matter of faith. We acted, however, in accordance with the wishes of the Emperor, the Senate, and the Imperial City. *Honour, then, we pray you, our judgment with YOUR DECREE,* that as we have been united to OUR HEAD in agreeing upon what was right, so the HEAD, too, may CONFIRM *the becoming act of the children.* So will our pious princes be pleased, who *have ratified as a law whatever YOUR HOLINESS HAS DETERMINED.*"

In the same letter we find the following expressions, which no ingenuity can explain away:—

11. "... "Over whom thou indeed hadst presided, as THE HEAD OVER THE MEMBERS."
12. "Which, [the Divine doctrine,] like to a golden chain reaching by the command of the lawgiver even unto us, thou hast preserved, being THE CONSTITUTED INTERPRETER OF THE VOICE OF THE BLESSED PETER, shedding the blessings of that faith over all."
13. "Over and above these outrages, he [Dioscorus] extended his rage also even against him to WHOM THE CARE OF THE VINEYARD HAS BEEN COMMITTED BY THE SAVIOUR, that is against your Apostolic Holiness."

In another epistle, addressed by the Council to the Empress Pulcheria, it is said:—

14. "Christ, our Pilot, guided us to the truth *through the admirable Leo.* As HE USED THE WISDOM OF PETER, SO HAS HE USED THE WISDOM OF LEO."

Such is the seal set by the fourth Œcumenical Council to the CUMULATIVE

EVIDENCE, by which the Supremacy of the Holy See is established.

To the writer this evidence appears as satisfactory as that on which Christianity itself rests. Here and there, whether in Scripture or in History, there are *difficulties* on both questions. A good Protestant *disregards* such difficulties, because his moral sense bids him be content with probability. A good Catholic acts on precisely the same principle. Were he to suffer the silence of one Father, or the ambiguous expression of another, to move him from his allegiance to the Church, and set him up as a free enquirer into her *right* to be his guide, he would find himself compelled, in consistency, to institute the same free enquiry, first, into the right of Scripture to be esteemed the Word of God, and secondly, into the right of any body of men to impose its own *interpretation* of Scripture as a condition of communion. No one who has not given a full and fair hearing to the Socinian or the Deist, can be sure that the difficulties in the way of being a *Christian* are not tenfold greater than any of those which deter men from being *Catholics*.*

* We are speaking here of *historical* difficulties; but the remark will apply to other difficulties as well. The eccentric lives, for instance, of some of the Saints, have their counterpart in the history of Samson; and the *grotesque* miracles occurring in Ecclesiastical legends, are, if allowance is made for the infirmity of narrators, not more strange than the Scriptural records of the speaking of the ass, or the 'swimming of the axe, or the Prophet in the whale's belly, or the money in the fish's mouth, or the transportation of Philip to Damascus. Mr. Newman well shows in his Essay on Miracles, that the spiritual as well as the natural world (both the work of God) have their respective eccentricities. Then, again, if solitary texts can be quoted against Catholic doctrines, they are not in themselves more forcible than those which Socinians bring against Anglicans. No one, for instance, will say that the text "there is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus" is not, at first sight, more opposed to the doctrine of our Lord's Divinity than to that of St. Mary's intercession. Again, the text, "My Father is greater than I," is *primâ facie* more subversive of the doctrine of our Lord's consubstantiality with the Father, than "Woman, what have I to do with thee, mine hour is not yet

This book aspires, in a humble way, to do for the Church, what Paley did for Christianity. Happy they who need neither the one nor the other. Happy they who are directed Heavenward in calm unquestioning submission to those who hold the place of Christ on earth. They and they only can fitly lay aside *enquiry*. They *have* the truth, and need not search. They are *right* in being "one-sided" in their studies, because to the end of the world Christ is with them. They yield no blind obedience to fallible men, they follow with no irrational enthusiasm some favourite preacher,—they are in communion with the Apostles, and Saints of all ages, in

come," is subversive of the Catholic doctrine of the Blessed Virgin's exaltation. The former text Anglicans join with us in explaining so as to harmonize with the Nicene confession of faith. The latter they refuse to understand in its true sense, as interpreted by the voice and practice of the Church. Few Anglicans can be so ignorant as to suppose the word "woman," in the original, betokens disrespect; but the rest of the text they are in the continual habit of quoting against us. We would ask them what, according to their notions, our Lord *did* intend to say? To us it seems that in the eyes of Protestants the whole account of this Her interference, and our Lord's declaration with regard to it, is *meaningless*. The first miracle was wrought at our Blessed Lady's intercession, as an earnest of Her power after "the hour had come." But as yet She was to have no position in the economy of grace. "What have I to do with thee, as yet,—before that hour?" When the hour was come, He told His beloved disciple, and in him all Christians, that in Her we were to behold a Mother. This explanation harmonized the written Word with the Voice of the Church, when the Nestorian controversy called for an explicit recognition of the Mother of God; and, at the same time, it gives meaning to a remarkable passage of Scripture, which otherwise would be meaningless.

Of course this explanation is not satisfactory to Anglicans;—but then, let them remember, neither are their explanations satisfactory to Socinians. There are *difficulties* both in Scripture and in the Church, intended for our trial. Revelation is not written on the sun. Do Anglicans imagine that the *Jews* found no difficulties in their way? Or do they think the three thousand added in one day to the Church waited to have all their difficulties satisfactorily solved before they submitted? Unquestionably the part of an earnest man is simply to find out where God speaks, and then to submit in spite of difficulties. It is only as a reward for such

the one Fold of the one Shepherd,—they are surrounded by the most certain manifestations of God's Presence among them, which none but Catholics themselves can understand;—they *have* all they want. Not so is it with Protestants. With them enquiry is a *duty*. It is their own principle that the finding of truth depends upon their individual exertions. They are under no Heavensent guide. They do not profess to *know* they have the truth. The teachers they trust are, according to their own confession, as fallible as themselves. Their very belief in the Bible is supposed to be the result of critical investigation. Whether there has been a Revelation or not is a mere matter of

submission that they will be cleared up. The writer himself had some few difficulties to the last. He desires now to bear witness that all have completely vanished. One single week in communion with the Church did more to satisfy him than twenty years of study could have done out of that communion. This may be understood by an Anglican if he will consider how he feels when Socinian arguments come in his way. However puzzling they may be to his intellect, he dismisses them without a shadow of misgiving, because he feels and knows that he has the truth. Intellectually, abstractedly, they are difficulties, but they are no difficulties to him. So it is with Catholics. Their moral sense, or conscience, or *heart*, or whatever it is that is influenced by Divine grace, is assured of the truth it possesses, and cannot be harassed by argument.

While on this subject the writer can not refrain from suggesting that one common difficulty among Protestants, is in fact a *note* of the Church, viz., the universal condemnation and reviling she meets with at the hands of all that are "without." The very fact that, from the Apostles downwards, heretics have always deemed the Church so obviously corrupt as to make any enquiry into her claims quite unnecessary, is surely one of the most striking proofs that she is "the household" of Him who was despised and rejected. The charges of "idolatry," and of the kind of immorality generally denominated "Jesuitry" by Protestants, are quite of a piece with those of child-murder and midnight reveling brought by men of good lives and good sense against the Christians of the first centuries. To us it seems perfectly miraculous that such notions should prevail among intelligent persons. It is, in fact, a miraculous fulfilment of our Blessed Lord's prophecy; "If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of the household."

opinion. Clearly, then, "one-sidedness" with them is sinful.—It is literally "heresy." It is the deliberate *choice* of particular "views," for some other reason than because they have been thoroughly sifted and have stood the trial. The only hope of a Protestant lies in diligent search.

If any among the writer's late friends and associates should read these words, he would implore them in the name of the Saviour to whom both writer and reader will one day have to render account, to consider seriously the great unreasonableness of their conduct in refusing to read Catholic books, or hold communication with Catholic men.

Why is it that Anglican Clergymen are content to remain in utter ignorance of Ecclesiastical history, and to yield the most abject submission to their own controversialists in all that opposes the Catholic Church? Why is it that the name of a *Barrow* or a *Bull* or of the "Book of Common Prayer" is enough to chase away every doubt, and *stifle* enquiry? What if these Divines *were* good and able men? What if the Prayer Book *be* a judicious compilation from the Missal and Breviary? Were the men infallible, or the book inspired? Are Bull and Barrow infinitely more trustworthy than St. Francis of Sales and St. Charles Borromeo? Is the little petty compilation of the Prayer Book of overwhelming weight against the mighty storehouses of Divine truth, out of which all its beauties were culled?*

Which of "the Divines of the 17th century" deserves to be mentioned in the same breath with St. Bernard, or St. Thomas Aquinas, or, to come down to their own time, Bellarmine, Baronius, Bona, or our own English controversialists, Stapleton and Southwell? We could name a hundred great men, in comparison with whom the most celebrated among Protestant Theological

writers shrink into utter insignificance. Jeremy Taylor, and Hooker, and Bingham, were unquestionably learned men; but their learning has been well described as "captious, querulous, and overbearing; never profound, seldom accurate." We have already furnished our readers with a specimen of Anglican polemics, under the head of St. Milhiades, page 26. If that is not enough to frighten them out of the confidence in man, which is the very essence of their religion, nothing short of a miracle will rouse them to a sense of their danger.

The majority, however, of the determined Anti-Roman Anglicans of the present day, trust not so much in books as in *living* men. They rally round the standards of such persons as Dr. Hook or Mr. Bennett. The former especially has gained great reputation for his zeal and learning, since the "movement" took an unexpected turn. Happily his pamphlet about education, and his "Church Dictionary" have staggered not a few among the earnest Anglicans, who are groping for a guide. A recent Reviewer, whose words are quoted above, has selected from the "Dictionary" such a string of blunders and misrepresentations as will go far, we trust, to remove him from his present position as a *leader*. We can not forbear from quoting one of these, if only for the amusement of our Catholic friends.—"BREVARY:—A daily office or book of divine service in the Romish Church. It is composed of Matins, Lauds; first, third, sixth, and ninth Vespers; and the Compline, or Post-Communio." "We would put it to any honest man," says the Reviewer, "who takes for granted what such as Dr. Hook tell him of the primitive Church," and of 'ancient doctrine,' whether the probabilities are in favour of the true account being given him; when on matters of comparatively no moment, but connected certainly with the subject of the controversy, such strange perversions as this are continually made."

It is utterly opposed to *our* principles to institute comparisons between this

* The individual to whom Anglicans are mainly indebted for the form of their Prayer-book was Martin Bucer, one of the self-constituted Apostolical triumvirate, who issued *ex cathedra* their sanction of Polygamy.

man and that, or to refer to any mere human authority, in matters of controversy; but Anglicans can not *help* doing this. Their religion, whether it shall be bordering on Catholicism or on Socinianism, whether it shall be that of Dr. Pusey or Dr. Hampden, depends upon the *choice* they make among the various teachers offered them in the Establishment. The writer *knows* that the most excellent "Churchmen," as they are called, among his own acquaintance, do not pretend to have formed their opinions from any study of Scripture, or investigations of their own. They profess to believe as certain Bishops, or Doctors, or Books, or Preachers, believe. Is it not unreasonable, then, to take for granted that Messrs. Palmer, and Sewell, and Gresley, and Keble, are necessarily right, when Messrs. Newman, and Oakley, and Faber, and Ward,—men, to say the least, *equally* celebrated for learning and piety,—have become their antagonists. It is one thing to agree with men, because, upon investigation, we believe their opinions to be true;—it is something altogether different to agree with them because, without any investigation, we trust them as authorities. It is obvious to ask what their *claim* is. What, indeed, can be the claim of any person or number of persons, if after all they *may* be in fatal error? If it is possible for any man, or any Church to deceive us, we are in duty bound to take heed lest we be deceived. A guide whom we are to trust implicitly *must* be infallible. If he disclaims infallibility, he puts us at once on our guard, and we ourselves become responsible for our Creed. The disclaimer bids us look to ourselves—throws us upon our private judgment. Our Church, like our Parents, *may* be teaching us falsehood for truth. We can not, we *dare* not heartily embrace it, till we have sifted all other systems, and ascertained *their* claims upon us. We can not even worship Christ till we have weighed the arguments of the Socinian, lest haply we be idolaters. No wonder that, terror-stricken by such

a wretched prospect, Protestants close their eyes to the inconsistency of their conduct, and take refuge with a leader or a party.

Few people, however, will acknowledge themselves to be *led* by any individual, and consequently when accused of what they cannot help feeling to be a weakness, their ready answer is "the Church" is our guide. If we go on further to ask what *is* this Church? Where does she speak?—*one* is ready with "the Book of Common Prayer" as his watch-word;—while another cries "the Bench of Bishops." All but themselves will think there is a third cry often raised among them, which, however unpalatable to "High-Churchmen" is tenfold more sensible than their own; viz. "the Bible, and the Bible only." What new embodiment of the abstraction "Church" will be devised when the "Bench" is filled with Whateleys and Hampdens, and the Prayer Book has been puritanized by Act of Parliament, it is impossible to conjecture. This latter process, let it be remembered, was warded off when it was near at hand by the very men* whose eyes are at length opened to the inconsistencies of Anglicanism. Now they are removed, the tide of Ultra-Protestantism will soon carry all before it. Our hope is that to those humble men of heart, who are yearning for the guidance of God's visible Church, the progress of events will gradually lay open the course of safety; and that very soon a large body of Anglicans will be granted to the prayers which throughout the Catholic world are now offered in their behalf. Then, doubtless, a "Church of England," of some kind may still exist, but "Anglicanism" will disappear from among the phenomena of heresy.

And now, it only remains to say one word to those who may have had their confidence in the society to which they belong lessened by what they have read.

* This was one main object of the exertions to which the *Tracts for the Times* owed their origin.

They will feel bewildered and unhappy. They will be tempted to throw aside the subject as one above their comprehension. They will perhaps try to divert their mind from it altogether, by other pursuits. They may even aim at a habit of *indifference* to all religion. The writer would feel himself to be, in some measure, responsible for the fatal consequences that would ensue on yielding to such temptations, if he did not implore them, in God's name, to be on the alert. Whatever is to be the result, let them regard their perplexity as a trial sent to call them to greater earnestness, and self-sacrifice, and devotion to God. It *must* be safe to *pray* for light. It *must* be safe to aim at a higher conscientiousness in daily living;—and we have God's sure promise that they who do this shall be led to the truth. Let them *do* that they may *know*. Let them pray, and give alms, and strive to love God and

their neighbour. Let them be humble and *silent*. Let them be careful not to argue for victory, not to speak wantonly of what they do not understand, not to condemn rashly what is above them. Let them commune with God and be still. Let them be "swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath;"—and, so prepared, let them *SEARCH* diligently.

"Act up to your light, though in the midst of difficulties, and you will be carried on, you do not know how far. Abraham obeyed the call and journeyed, not knowing whither he went; so we, if we follow the voice of God, shall be brought on, step by step, into a new world, of which before we had no idea. This is His gracious way with us; He gives not all at once, but by measure and season, wisely. To him that hath, more shall be given. But we must begin at the beginning. Each truth has its own order; we cannot join the way of life at

The following account of the Anglican "movement" was written by Father Perrone some years ago.

"Atque hic joverit tum hujus [Palmer] tum ceterorum recentiorum Oxoniensis universitatis doctorum systema paucis exponere.... Hi igitur *viam mediam* intuent inter illum quem ipsi vocant *Ultra-Protestantismum*, et *Romanismum*. Admittunt idcirco præter Scripturas etiam traditionem, non illo tamen sensu quo eam amplectuntur Catholici, sed solum quatenus inservit ad Scripturæ dogmaticam interpretationem; rejiciunt propterea interpretationem privatam, seu sensu privato factam, quam acriter teneant Protestantes: venerantur etiam sanctorum patrum auctoritatem. Contendunt porro se esse Catholicos, seu pertinere ad ecclesiam Catholicam, quæ juxta ipsorum placita coalescit ex diversis sectis et communionibus, dummodo servant hierarchiam et profiteantur principium auctoritatis in rebus fidei. Ecclesiam Romanam veluti partem agnoscunt ecclesiæ Catholicæ, sed non in sensu exclusivo prout *Romanenses*, ut ipsi vocant, profitentur. Ut autem ita a se confictam Catholicam ecclesiam adstruant, admittunt quidem et ipsi quatuor notas veræ ecclesiæ nobiscum: attamen rentur posse existere unitatem fidei etiam non omnes in eadem doctrina profitenda convenient, ac etiam posse haberi unitatem communionis, quamvis externa non habeatur inter partes omnes societatis Christianæ communicatio, quæ in istorum systemate quandoque salva unitate penitus interrumpi potest, ac longo etiam temporis intervallo. Admittunt auctoritatem conciliorum œcumenicorum, ea tamen conditione quod hæc ab universa ecclesia Catholica, ea nimirum quam ipsi sibi percom-

mode excogitarunt, probata fuerint, quo fit ut nulla alia concilia pro œcumenicis habeant præter sex priora. Non agnoscunt absolute infallibilitatem ecclesiæ, quamvis plurimum ejus auctoritati deferant. Eminent in hac schola Jo. Henricus Newman, E. B. Pusey, Gulielmus Palmer, Keble, &c. Inter eos Palmer doctrina et moderatione cæteris præstare nobis visus est; siquidem ex reliquis plures, sive quod nondum reipsa odium exuerint quo adversus ecclesiam Catholicam, nempe Romanam, ferebantur, sive quod affectent se liberare ab illo quod ipsis objectum est, adagio; *tendimus in Latium*, nullum persæpe modum servant in ecclesia Romana calumniis et conviciis proscindenda. Prout vero contingere solet iis qui *viam mediam* insistere volunt, et certa regula carent, nova hæc schola plures in ipsa Anglicana ecclesia nacta est adversarios, atque præterea secum ipsa divisa est. Quapropter diu in præsentis statu consistere non poterit; aut enim, quod summopere optamus, ad verum Catholicismum perveniet, aut certo in pristinum Protestantismum ac Ultra-Protestantismum relabatur.—*Prælectiones Theologicæ. Tom. viii., p. 116.*

After alluding to an article in the British Critic, he says, "Ast mihi similes videntur illis mulieribus, quæ venerunt usque ad partum, nec tamen defectu virum parere potuerunt, de quibus loquitur Propheta. Ex una quippe parte sentiunt necessitatem se conjungendi cum ecclesia quæ sola Una, Sancta, Catholica et Apostolica est, quæque est sola ecclesia Romana, ex altera vero perterrefiunt ex vano *Papismi* aut *Romanismi*, ut ita dicam, magico tericulo. Vincat. Dei gratia in istorum cordibus."—*Ibid., p. 217.*

any point of the course we please; we cannot learn advanced truths before we have learned primary ones. 'Call upon me,' says the Divine Word, 'and I will answer thee, and shew thee great and mighty things which thou knowest not.' Religious men are always learning, but when men refuse to profit by light already granted, their light is turned to darkness. Observe our Lord's conduct to the Pharisees. They asked Him on what authority He acted. He gave them no direct answer, but referred them to the mission of John the Baptist. 'The Baptism of John whence was it? from heaven, or from men?' They refused to say. Then He said 'Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.' That is, they would not profit by the knowledge they already had, therefore no more was given them.

"All of us may learn a lesson here, for all of us are in danger of hastily finding fault with others, and condemning their opinions and practices; not considering, that unless we have faithfully obeyed our conscience and improved our talents, we are no fit judges of them at all. Christ and His Saints are alike destitute of form or comeliness in the eyes of the world, and it is only as we labour to change our nature, through God's help, and to serve Him truly, that we begin to discover the beauty of holiness. Then at length we find reason to suspect our own judgment of what is really good, and perceive our own blindness; for by degrees we find that those whose opinions we hitherto despised or wondered at as extravagant, or unaccountable, or weak, really know more than ourselves and are above us—and so, ever as we rise in knowledge and grow in spiritual illumination, they, (to our amazement,) rise also, while we look at them. The better we are, the more we understand their excellence, till at length we are taught something of their Divine Master's perfections also, which before were hid from

us, and see why it is that though the Gospel is set on a hill in the midst of the world, like a city which cannot be hid, yet to multitudes it is notwithstanding hid, since He taketh the wise in their own craftiness, and the pure in heart alone can see God.

"Let not the diversity of opinion in the world dismay you, or deter you from seeking all your life long true wisdom. It is not a search for this day or that, but as you should ever grow in grace, so should you ever grow also in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Seek truth in the way of obedience; try to act up to your conscience, and let your opinions be the result, not of mere chance reasoning or fancy, [or of education, or friendship, or party spirit, or National pride,] but of an improved heart.

"Those who thus proceed, watching, praying, TAKING ALL MEANS GIVEN THEM OF GAINING THE TRUTH, studying the Scriptures and doing their duty; in short those who seek the truth by principle and habit, as the main business of their lives, humbly not arrogantly, peaceably not contentiously, shall not be 'turned unto fables'—'The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him.'"*

Dear Reader, you believe the Bible to be the Word of God. Do its bidding then. It is no-where written,—*"If thou continuest in the religion of thy Father, —if thou walkest in the way of thy friend,—if thou hast this or that man's person in admiration,—thou hast all knowledge and need not seek it."* But it is written, *"IF THOU CRIEST AFTER KNOWLEDGE AND LIATEST UP THY VOICE FOR UNDERSTANDING, IF THOU SEEKEST HER AS SILVER, AND SEARCHEST FOR HER AS FOR HID TREASURE, THEN THOU SHALT UNDERSTAND THE FEAR OF THE LORD, AND FIND THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD."*

It is said,

"SEEK AND YE SHALL FIND."

APPENDIX I.

SCRIPTURE PROOF OF ST. PETER'S SUPREMACY.

I. THE NAME.

John i. 42. "And when Jesus beheld him, He said, Thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation a stone."

II. THE PROMISE.

Matt. xvi. 16—19. "And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God; and Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father, which is in Heaven; and I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

III. THE GIFT.

Luke xxii. 31, 32. "And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have *you*, that he may sift *you* as wheat; but I have prayed for *THEE* that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren."

IV. THE PRIMACY.

Matt. x. 2. "Now the names of the twelve Apostles are these: *THE FIRST*, Simon, who is called Peter, &c."—See also, Mark iii. 16, and Luke vi. 14.

Mark i. 36. "And *Simon and they that were with him* followed after Him."

Luke viii. 45. "*Peter and they that were with him* said."

Luke ix. 32. "But *Peter and they that were with him* were heavy with sleep."

Matt. xvii. 27. "Go thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up, and when thou has opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money; that take and give unto them for Me and thee. [xviii. 1.] At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, who is the greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven?"

Luke v. 3. "And He entered into one of the ships which was Simon's"—verse 10—"and Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men."

Mark xvi. 7. "Go your way, tell His Disciples, and Peter, that He goeth before you into Galilee."—See also Matt. viii. 14; xiv. 28, 29; xvii. 4; xix. 27; xxvi. 37, 40; Mark xi. 21; John vi. 68; xiii. 24, 36. &c., &c., &c.

V. THE COMMISSION.

John xxi. 15—17. "Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou *Me more than these*? He saith unto Him, Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed My lambs. He saith to him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou *Me*? He saith unto Him,

Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Take the government of My sheep. He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? Peter was grieved because He said unto him the third time lovest thou Me, and he said unto Him, Lord Thou knowest all things, Thou knowest that I love Thee. Jesus said unto him, Feed My sheep."

VI. THE SUPREMACY.

Acts, i. 15—22. "In those days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples, and said.....one must be ordained."

Acts, ii. 14—41. "Peter, standing up with the eleven, said, Ye men of Judæa, &c. When they heard this, they said unto Peter and the rest.....Then they that gladly received His word were baptized.....3000 souls."

Acts, iii. 1—26. "Peter and John, &c.....A certain man lame asked alms, and Peter fastening his eyes upon him with John said, &c. Then Peter said... ..in the name of Jesus Christ.....rise up and walk. And he took him by the right hand.....When Peter saw it, he answered unto the people, Ye men of Israel, &c."

Acts, iv. 8. "Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, Ye rulers of the people, &c."

Acts, v. 3, 10. "Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart?..... Peter said.....how is it that ye have offered, &c. And Ananias and his wife fell down and gave up the ghost."

Verse 15. "They brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them."

29—32. "Then Peter and the other Apostles answered and said, We ought to obey God rather than man, &c."

Acts, viii. 20, 23. "Peter said unto him, Thy money perish with thee, &c."

Acts, ix. 32—43. "As Peter passed throughout all quarters.....Peter said unto him, Eneas, &c.....Forasmuch as the disciples had heard that Peter was there, they sent unto him, &c.....Peter said, Tabitha, arise."

Acts, x. 1—48. "An angel of Godto Cornelius.....said, Call for one Simon, whose surname is Peter....Peter saw heaven opened, and he said, of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, &c., &c."

Acts, xi. 2—18. "When Peter was come to Jerusalem.....he rehearsed the matter from the beginning.....When they heard these things, they held their peace."

Acts, xii. 5—19. "Peter therefore was kept in prison; but prayer was made without ceasing of the Church for him, &c., &c."

Acts, xv. 6. "And the Apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter; and when there had been much disputing Peter rose up and said, &c. Then all the multitude kept silence, and James answered, Simon hath declared, &c."

The passages we have quoted from the Acts of the Apostles are simply *suggestive*. They are not intended to be separately weighed, but to enable the reader to comprehend at a glance, the substance of the first half of St. Luke's narrative. No sooner had our Lord ascended, than St. Peter takes His place, as the Visible Head of the Church. Accordingly, as in the Gospels, we have the Acts of *our Lord and His Apostles*; so in St. Luke's second record we have the Acts of *St. Peter and the Apostles*;—"St. Peter and them that were with him." This is the case as long as the book is strictly what it is called. Subsequently it enters upon another subject, viz., the voyages and journeyings of the writer's own companion, St. Paul.

In order to estimate duly the force of the argument from Scripture, it is necessary that the reader should appreciate the position taken by Catholics in regard to the written Word. *Supposing* them to be right in considering that *men* and not *books* were sent to teach the world;—*Supposing* it to be true that "I will be with you always," refers to the persons whom our Lord addressed, and can only be fulfilled in their successors;—

Supposing it to be true that "the Church is the pillar and ground of the truth," and that if a man "neglect to hear the Church" he shall be as an heathen ;— *Supposing* it to be true that, as Mr. Keble* says, the Canon of the New Testament was not recognised, for at least two hundred years;—*Supposing* it to be true, to use the same writer's words, that the "*un-written Word*" demands, when it can be ascertained, the same reverence from us as the written, "and for exactly the same reason,— *because it is His Word.*"† *Supposing* that Catholics are not blind when they profess their utter inability to see, either in the Sacred Volume itself, or in Antiquity, a shadow of reason for the Protestant belief about the Bible only, as a sufficient rule of faith ;—in such case the reader will probably admit that we could not *expect* more from the Bible, on the particular subject before us, than is afforded us there. To the Anglican it is not convincing, because, forgetting his own views about Infant Baptism, or the Lord's Day, or Episcopacy, or the Priesthood, or Confirmation, and the very slight Scripture proof upon which his belief in such matters rests, he demands a plainness of speech which the written Word was not meant to accord. To the Catholic it is convincing, because having received and holden fast the tradition of the Apostles, knowing of whom he has received it, he finds that on this point, as well as on all others, written and un-written Words are in mutual harmony. Catholics do not hesitate to say that there is in the Bible quite as much on the Supremacy of St. Peter, as upon the Consubstantiality of our Lord, or the Personality of the Holy Spirit. To them, possessed as they are of the un-written Word on all the three subjects, the Scriptures are abundantly explicit ;—to Protestants, two seem plain and are received, while the third is utterly rejected. We can only think that they are happily unreasonable.

Has it never occurred to those who love to talk "of the three first centuries,"

that the doctrine of Scripture sufficiency, being most certainly unknown to the Primitive Church, must be either a "Development" or a "Corruption?" If they maintain it to be the former, first, they have admitted a principle which will prove very dangerous to them in their controversy with Catholics, and secondly, they will have great difficulty in finding the *germ* of their doctrine in the early, and its growth in later ages. If they give up this ground, what can they say against our assertion that it is a pernicious and fatal corruption? It is a departure from primitive truth, beginning with the Manichees, fostered among the legitimate successors of those heretics, the Waldenses and Wickliffites, and at last breaking out into open rebellion against Christ and his Church, under the auspices of ambitious enthusiasts and profligate sovereigns, in the ~~sixteenth~~ sixteenth century.

On Mr. Keble's justification of the Anglican doctrine about Holy Scripture, Dr. Wiseman speaks with his usual force :—

"Let the argument be inculcated in Church and School, let it be urged upon the laity, and recommended to the Clergy ; and we Catholics may fold up our arms and patiently wait its effects. Let it be preached in every Anglican congregation, that originally, for nearly two hundred years, the very rule of faith propounded by us was the only one, the Church being the sole depository of truth, and tradition its only standard ; and that these were fully guaranteed by Divine sanction ; but that *we may gather*, from the growing abundance of Scriptural quotations in writers of the second century, that a certain fact (which, be it remarked, is by them no where recorded or alluded to,) had been observed, to wit, that Scripture contained all the essential doctrines of religion ;—farther, that such an observation being made, (of which there is no evidence,) *would of course suggest* the golden rule of the 28th Article ;—finally, that the result would be a transfer of the dogmatical deposit from Divinely-sanctioned tradi-

* *Serm. on Tradition.* Page, 30, † Page 24.

tion to Scripture, (which no where declares itself all-sufficient)—which transfer takes place about the time of St. Irenæus, though no ecclesiastical act or declaration, no historical record, no voice of attesting witnesses has preserved a note of such an important revolution! Grant all this—grant our rule two centuries of undisturbed, authorized possession, and then we may safely allow such a tissue of unsupported assumptions and conjectures to deprive it of its rights—if they can!”

From any remarks of his own upon the proof from Scripture, the writer purposely abstains, that he may at once introduce the comment of a Saint, whose clear-sightedness and logical powers are no less remarkable than the *reality*, so to speak, of his style. His words are as winning as they are forcible.*

ST. FRANCIS OF SALES

ON THE PRE-EMINENCE GIVEN BY OUR LORD TO ST. PETER.

I. ST. PETER IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH.

Is it not true that when our Lord assigns a name to men, He always vouchsafes to them some peculiar grace corresponding to the name which He confers? So when He changed the name of Abram into Abraham, who was father of the faithful, it was to signify that He made him “Father of a great multitude.” He gives the reason at the same time. “Thy name shall be Abraham, for a father of many nations have I made thee.”† In changing the name of Sarai into Sarah‡ He constituted her princess, not in Abraham’s house alone, but of

the nations and people that should be born of her. If He changes the name of Jacob into Israel, the reason is straightway given, because “As a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed.”|| And so by the names which He confers, He does not merely point out the things named, but He instructs us also as to their qualities and conditions. Witness the angels, who bear names purely according to their offices; witness St. John Baptist, who signifies by the name the grace which he proclaimed in the preaching of repentance. And this is so ordinary a matter in the sacred language of the Israelites, that it would be superfluous to dwell upon it.

And so the imposition of the name on St. Peter§ is no light argument of the peculiar evidence of his office, according to the reason which our Lord attached to it; “Thou art Peter, &c.”¶ Now what means this name which the Son of God gave to him? Truly it was a name full of majesty; not a vulgar nor trivial name;—and it was also a name which speaks of pre-eminence and authority, like that of Abraham. For if Abraham was thus named because he was to be father of many people; St. Peter was thus named because on him, as on a rock, was to be founded the multitude of the faithful. And it is to point out this resemblance that St. Bernard calls the dignity of St. Peter “The Patriarchate of Abraham.”

When Isaiah would exhort the Jews by the example of Abraham, who was their root, he calls Abraham “a rock.” “Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn.....look unto Abraham your father.”** Here we may see that the name Peter has a direct reference to paternal authority.

The change itself and imposition of a new name is much to be observed, for the names which God gives are effective all, have a moulding virtue. If He has given this name to St. Peter, it

* These papers were never arranged for publication by St. Francis himself. They were found after his death, and printed without alteration. What is lost however in art, is gained in simplicity. For a short biographical sketch of this great man, see Palmer’s Church History, p. 230—233. He made no less than 72,000 converts among the Protestants of Switzerland.

† Genesis, xvii. 5.

Ibid, verse 15.

|| Genesis, xxxii. 28.

§ John i. 42.

¶ Matt. xvi. 18.

** Isaiah, li. i. 2.

follows that He has given him some quality corresponding to the name.* Our Lord is called "a Rock," because He is the Head and Foundation of the Church *κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος*. He alone is the corner-stone; i.e., the support and stability of the spiritual edifice: *✠* He has been pleased to declare that on St. Peter His Church should be built, and in order to strengthen his brethren, that He would strengthen him in the faith. I know that He gave to the two brothers John and James the name of Boanerges; still this is not a name of superiority and power, but of obedience; it is not peculiar to one, but common to both; it appears not even to be a permanent name, since they have never borne it after that time. It was rather a title of praise on account of their future excellence and ardent zeal in preaching. But in St. Peter this name remained always fixed and full of authority; it was so peculiar to him that we may well say, "To which of the others hath He said, 'Thou art Peter?'"—to show that He established in St. Peter a superiority above the others.

But what says our Lord? Three things very important, which we will consider in order.

"Thou art Peter [Petrus], and upon this rock [petram] I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." He says that he is a rock or stone, and that on this rock or stone He will build His Church. But here we are at issue, for it is granted without dispute that our Lord is speaking to St. Peter, and of St. Peter up to this point, (i.e., before He says, "And upon this rock,") but in these and the

following words, it is maintained, He no longer speaks of St. Peter. But, I pray you, what appearance is there that our Lord would have made this great preface, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in Heaven, and I say also unto thee,"—to introduce nothing else than "that thou art Peter," and then suddenly and without connexion, to change the thread of His discourse, and go on to speak of other things? Do you not see that He continues to speak of the same stone of which He had been speaking without interruption? Now of what other stone had He been speaking than Simon to whom He said, "Thou art Peter? But perhaps you think that as Peter is now become a proper name of a man, it was also at that time, and that "Petrus" is not there the same thing as "Petra;" and that so we are transferring the signification of "Petra" to "Petrus." But indeed there is no transfer, for they are but one word. When our Lord said to Simon, "Thou art *Petrus*," and when He said "and upon this *petram* I will build my Church," this word "Petrus" was not then a proper name of a man, but only appropriated to Simon Barjona; which you will understand better if you observe that our Lord spoke not in Greek, but in Syriac. He did not then call Peter Cephias, but said, "Thou art *Cepha*," and upon this *Cepha* I will build." Now what further doubt have you? You say it is one man of whom He says, "Thou art *Cepha*," and another of whom He says, "And upon this *Cepha*." Certainly there is no mention of any other "*Cepha*" in all this chapter than Simon: why then refer the pronoun "this" to another "*Cepha*" than that which immediately precedes, and which forms the thread of the discourse?"†

* "Si hoc ante Petrus vocaretur, non ita videres mysterium petre, et putares casu eum sic vocari, non providentia Dei: voluit eum aliud prius vocari, ut ex ipsa commutatione nominis sacramenti vivacitas commendaretur." St. August. in tract. Jo. i. St. Jerome, quoted in the Catena Aurea, says, "As much as to say, you have said to me, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God; therefore I say unto thee, not as a mere speech, and that goes not into operation, but I say unto thee, and for me to speak is to make it so, that thou art Peter."—See Newman on Just. Lect. iii. p. 87.

† "Etenim, si, Petro semoto, super se tantum Christus edificatam ecclesiam adductis voluisset verbis significare, uti adnotat P. Scheffmacher, sic deberet eorum syntaxis constitui:—'Tu es Petrus, tu Simon quem alloquor, et ego qui tecum loquor sum ista petra, et super hanc

Again to shew you that it is St. Peter of whom it is said "and upon this rock," I cite the words that follow: for it appears to me the same thing to put into his hands the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and to say to him "upon this rock;" and we cannot doubt that it is St. Peter to whom He promises the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, since He says expressly "And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven." If then we are not prepared to wrench this portion of the Gospel from the words that precede, and the words that follow it, we can not deny that it is said to St. Peter, and of St. Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church." It is what the true and pure Catholic Church believes, and what the confession even of the ministers asserts, and it is seen con-

petram, id est, super me, ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum."—*Perrone, viii. p. 329.*

The Protestant Beza says, "Dominus Syriace loquens nulla usus est agnominatione, sed utrobique dixit *Cepha*, quemadmodum et vernaculum nomen *Pierre* tam de proprio quam de appellativo dicitur." Another Protestant, KUINOEL, says that many commentators absurdly interpret *petra* to mean Christ Himself, or the confession of faith; and that they never could have so distorted the words, ("ad has contortas interpretationes confugissent,") if the Papists had not rested the Pope's authority upon them. A third Protestant, ROSENMULLER, says much the same thing. The Fathers use the Protestant interpretations, but not in a Protestant way. If the rock is Christ it is the Christ who is in a peculiar manner *Peter's* strength, if the faith, it is the faith of *Peter*. The person of Peter is never excluded.

The following passage from Cardinal DU PERRON (*page 462, et seq.*) is very forcible:—"Vult Christus his verbis, 'Tu es Petrus, &c.,' allusionem facere ad nomen S. Petri. Jam vero omnes allusiones ad nomina vel allusiones sunt *confirmationis*, vel *reprehensionis*. Allusiones confirmationis illæ dicuntur quibus probatur aut confirmatur nominis impositio quod alicui primum datum est, uti cum Vopiscus vocat imperatorem Probum *vere probum*; et imperatorem Carum *vere carum*, ac sanctus Athanasius dicit Hosium *vere hosium*, id est, *vere sanctum*; Conc. Constantinopolitanum sub Menna celebratum appellat Pontificem Agapetum *vere agapetum*, id est, *dilectum* seu *amatum*. Allusiones correctionis illæ sunt quæ fiunt ad corrigendum ac reprehendum eo quod aliquem

firmed in the assembly of the 630 Bishops of Chalcedon.*

Now let us see what is the importance of these words and what they signify. We know that what the head is to the body of a living man, or the root to the tree, such is the foundation to a building. Our Lord then, when He compares His Church to a building, and says that He will build it on St. Peter, shews clearly that St. Peter is to be the foundation-stone of His holy building, or the root of His precious tree, or the head of His beautiful body. Now, if it is true, that the stone on which we build an edifice is the chief, and that the others are established on it, then, doubtless, those which do not rest on it are not truly parts of the building; but whoso removes the foundation stone, overthrows the house, though other stones may be removed without the fall of the building.

immerito nomen gerat ei impositum. Hec autem correctio duplici ratione fit; aut scilicet per negationem ac per antithesim, uti cum Noemi dixit; *Ne vocetis me Noemi*, id est *pulchram*, sed vocate me *Mara*, id est *Amaram*; aut per translationem quatenus significatur alteri potius, quam illi nomen aptari, cui impositum est, veluti cum S. Augustinus loquens de Absalom, cujus nomen significat *patrem pacis*, asserit verum Absalom esse Christum Jesum. Porro si cum Christus dixit: 'Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam' petreæ voce significavit Petri personam, facere voluit allusionem approbationis; quod si intellexisset seipsum, fecisset allusionem translationis, ac proinde correctionis. At omnia adjuncta clamant Christum hic nullomodo intendisse ejusmodi correctionem aut improbationem Petro facere perinde ac si Apostolus indigne Petri, seu petreæ nomen illi impositum gessisset, tum quia ipsemet Christus illi hoc nomen imposuerat, tum quia voluit Christus remunerari ejus fidei confessionem, tum denique quia hunc sensum excludit illud exordium; 'Beatus es Simon Barjona.' Restat igitur ut Christus voluerit facere allusionem approbationis, ac proinde hoc nomine Petri personam designaverit, non autem seipsum."

* "The Most Holy Archbishop of Rome Leo, through us (his Legates) and this present Council, with the Apostle St. Peter, who is the rock and foundation of the Catholic Church, and of the orthodox faith, deprives him (Dioscorus) of the Episcopal dignity, and his whole sacerdotal office."

Secondly, I maintain that by these words our Lord indicates the perpetuity and immobility of this foundation. The stone on which one raises a building must be, as we have said, the first; the others rest on its support. One may remove the others, but he who takes away the foundation overthrows all. If then the gates of hell cannot prevail against the Church, they cannot prevail against its foundation and head.

In the third place Christ indicates a very great difference between Himself and St. Peter, for He is foundation and Founder, but St. Peter only the foundation. Our Lord is the Master and Lord in absolute right; St. Peter has only the stewardship, as we shall show by and by.

Lastly, by these same words, our Lord declares that the stones which are not established on this foundation-stone, are not of the Church, and do not belong to this Spiritual edifice.

II. EXPLANATION OF TEXTS ALLEGED AGAINST THE TRUTH WE HAVE ESTABLISHED, THAT ST. PETER IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH.

First of all our adversaries oppose to us this passage from St. Paul:—"For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."* And again:—"Built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief-corner-stone."† And in the Apocalypse:—"And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and on them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb."‡ If then, say they, all the twelve Apostles are the foundation of the Church, how can you attribute this title to Peter in particular? And if St. Paul says that no man can lay any other foundation than our Lord, how dare you say that by these words, "Thou art Peter,

and upon this rock I will build my Church," St. Peter has been constituted the foundation of the Church? Why do you not rather say with Calvin, that this stone on which the Church is founded is none other than Jesus Christ? Why do you not rather say, with Luther, that this must be understood of the confession of faith which St. Peter had made? Surely it is not the right way of interpreting Scripture to overthrow one passage by another, or to wrest it from its natural sense to one strange and unsuitable. We should observe to the utmost its simplicity and easy flow. Since then we see clearly that Scripture teaches us there is no other foundation than our Lord, and that the same Scripture teaches us that St. Peter also is the foundation *in his manner*, and further, that all the Apostles are the foundation *in their manner*; we must not take the first teaching to weaken the second, nor the second to destroy the third, but maintain them all in their integrity; and this may easily be done if we consider these passages with good faith and candour.

First, we acknowledge that Jesus Christ is the one ("unique") Foundation of the Church. He is the one Foundation of our faith, of our hope, of our charity; He is the one Foundation of the efficacy of the Sacraments, and of our happiness; and He is also the one Foundation of all authority, and of all ecclesiastical law, and of all doctrine and sacred administration whatsoever.—Who ever doubted it? But in saying He is the one Foundation, why are you offended that we place Peter also for a foundation? You do us wrong: We place him for a foundation, in the sense, (and in no other,) in which the Lord Himself so placed him; so that if our Lord is the true foundation, as He is, we must believe St. Peter is so too, since our Lord has made him such. But if any other than our Lord Himself, had given him this place, we should all cry with you, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." In truth, have you well con-

* Cor. iii. 11.

† Ephes. ii. 20.

‡ Rev. xxi. 14.

sidered the words of St. Paul? He will not have us acknowledge any foundation *other than* our Lord. Neither St. Peter nor the other Apostles are a foundation *other than* our Lord, but *under*, subaltern to Him. Their doctrine is not *other than* that of their Master, but the very same as His. So the supreme office which St. Peter holds in the Church militant, by reason of which he is called the foundation of the Church, as her head and governor, is not *other than* that of his Master; it is only a pre-eminent participation of His authority: so he is not a foundation of this hierarchy *other than* our Lord, but rather *in* our Lord; as we call him, "Most Holy Father in God," out of whom he would not be so. Here is no contrariety, but a subordination. Surely we acknowledge no secular authority in this state, *other than* that of His Royal Highness; but we acknowledge many under it, which are only portions and participations of his. If you will, now, let us interpret passage by passage. Does not St. Paul appear to you to express himself clearly enough when he says, "Built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets?"—still, that it might be known those foundations were no *other than* that he preached, he adds, "Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone."

From this it follows that our Lord is a foundation and St. Peter also; but with so notable a difference that in comparison with one, the other may be called none. Our Lord is foundation and Founder, foundation without other foundation, Founder of the Church Natural, Mosaic, and Evangelic, foundation, perpetual and immoveable, of the Church Militant and Triumphant, foundation by Himself, foundation of our faith, our hope, and our charity, and of the efficacy of the Sacraments. St. Peter is the foundation, but not the founder of the Church; foundation, but himself founded on another, which is our Lord; foundation of the Evangelic Church only; foundation subject to succession; of the Church Militant, not of the Triumphant; by participation; ministerial not absolute;

administrator and not Lord; and in no sense foundation of our faith, hope, and charity, or the efficacy of the Sacraments. This great difference makes it unfitting to call one the foundation in comparison with the other except by way of similitude; and yet taken by himself he may be called foundation, in order to leave to the holy words their own substantial meaning. Thus, although our Lord is the good Shepherd, He still gives us others under Him, between whom and His Majesty there is so great a difference that He Himself declares that He is the *only* Shepherd.

Secondly, I maintain that it is not good philosophy so say, all the Apostles in general* are called the foundation of the Church, therefore St. Peter is so

* Protestants continually urge such texts as "Whosoever shall not hear you, nor receive you, it shall be more tolerable, &c." (Mark vi. 11.) and "As my Father sent Me, even so send I you." (John xx. 28.) as a proof that the Apostles were invested with equal authority. It is hard to see how such a conclusion can be drawn. *Why* should this general commission to the Apostles be supposed to invalidate the especial and most marked commission given separately to St. Peter? Do not Anglicans believe every simple *Priest* to hold the very same commission given in those texts? And does such belief interfere at all with the superior authority of Bishops? For our part St. Peter's appointment seems to be so plainly stated that we should not be moved from our conviction by logic far more forcible than that which from such meagre premises infers so sweeping a conclusion. Did our Lord ever say, "Ye are all equal—St. Peter, though he speaks for all, though he is ever first, though he is called a rock, though I have promised to build My Church upon him, though he is to bear the keys, though he is to be the strengthener of you all, though he loves Me more than you, though I have given him an especial charge to feed My flock, though in the first opening of the Gospel Kingdom, he is to take the most prominent part, though, until your dispersion throughout the world, it is round him you are to rally, and to follow him as now you follow Me—yet beware lest you count him your chief;—he *will* be so counted one day by the whole Christian world, but it is a grievous error.—he is in reality no greater than yourselves?" When Protestants can show that He said this, or any thing like this, we will give up our interpretation of Scripture, and take theirs. But as it is, we will not give way to the private judgment either of Martin Luther or the Rev. Mr. Allwood. We do not count either of them to be *Scriptural* in their tenets.

only as the others. On the contrary, since our Lord has said with distinction and precise term to St. Peter, that which is said afterwards and in general to the others, we must conclude that there is in St. Peter some special propriety of foundation, and that he is in particular what all the college are together. All the Church has been founded on the Apostles, and all on St. Peter in particular. St. Peter then is the foundation taken by himself which the others are not, for to which has He ever said in particular, "Thou art Peter, &c.?"

As it would be a violation of Scripture to say that all the Apostles in general were not the foundation of the Church, it would also be a violation of it to deny that St. Peter was so in particular. The general expression must have its general effect, and the particular its particular effect, so that nothing remain useless or without mystery in so mysterious Scriptures. Consider only for what general reason all the Apostles are called the foundation of the Church. It is because they, by their preaching, have planted the Christian faith and doctrine; in which, if we must give distinction to any one of the Apostles, it would be doubtless to St. Paul, who said, "I laboured more abundantly than they all."*

Thirdly, from what has been said above, it is easy to understand the meaning of the text from the Apocalypse, for the twelve Apostles are called the foundation of the Heavenly Jerusalem, because they were the first who converted the world to the Christian religion. If you pay attention to the words, the text of St. Paul does not seem to speak so much of the *person* of the Apostles as of their *doctrine*, for it is not said that we are built upon the Apostles, but upon the foundation of the Apostles, i.e., upon the doctrine they announced; and this appears also from the circumstance that he does not say we are built upon the foundation of the Apostles only, but of the Prophets also; and yet we know that the Prophets are not pro-

perly in their person the foundation of the Evangelic Church, but only in their doctrine. And in this respect all the Apostles seem on an equality, unless it may be said that St. John and St. Paul precede the others by the excellence of their Theology. It is then in this respect, that all the Apostles are the foundation of the Church; but for authority and government St. Peter precedes the others as much as the head surpasses the members; for he has been appointed Ordinary Pastor and Supreme Head of the Church. The others have been delegated and commissioned with as much of power and authority over all this Church as St. Peter himself, *except* that St. Peter was the head of them all, and *their* Pastor as he was of all Christendom. Thus they were the foundation *with* him, equally as regards the conversion of souls and doctrine, but as regards authority and government unequally, since St. Peter was the ordinary head, not only of the rest of the Church, but of the Apostles also; for our Lord had built upon him all His Church, of which he was not only part, but the principal and noblest part. "Licet super omnes Apostolos ex æquo Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur," says St. Jerome, "tamen inter duodecim unus eligitur ut, capite constituto, schismatis tollatur occasio."† And our St. Bernard, speaking to his friend Eugenius, says of this Pope, (and we may say as much of the others, for the same reason,) "Sunt alii cæli rectores, sunt alii gregum pastores, sed tu tanto gloriosius, quanto differentius nomen hæreditasti."

III. ST. PETER RECEIVED FROM JESUS CHRIST THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.

Our adversaries are so irritated when we propose to them the See of St. Peter as a touchstone by which to try the false bias and fantasies which they have concerning the Scriptures, that they

* 1. Cor. xv. 10.

† Contra Jovin. Lib. i.

move Heaven and earth to take out of our hands the express words of our Lord, of which the meaning is more fully explained, when, after having said to St. Peter that on him He would build the Church He goes on, "and I will give unto thee the keys, &c." It were impossible to speak more clearly: He had said, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, &c." "I say also unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church." "And I will give unto thee." This "unto thee" refers without doubt to him to whom He had said, "And I say unto thee." It is then to St. Peter. But the ministers endeavour, with much subtilty, to trouble the clear fountain of the Gospel. They have bethought themselves to say that St. Peter received this promise from our Lord in the whole Church, without having received through it any particular privilege in his own person. Now if this be not a violation of Scripture, never man did violate it. For was He not speaking to St. Peter? And how could He better express His intention than by saying, "And I say unto thee—I will give thee?" For since He had just spoken of the Church, when He says, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it," what should hinder His adding, "And I will give unto her," if He had wished to give them to the whole Church "immediatè?" He does not say "to her," but "to thee." Can it be denied that St. Peter, in this place, spoke in his own name when he made the grand confession, "Thou art the Christ?" not as commissioned by the Church, for we have not one mark of any such commission in the sacred text. The Revelation on which he founds his election had been made to him alone, unless the whole college of the Apostles had the name Simon Barjona. He made his confession, according to St. Chrysostom and St. Cyril, as being the mouth, the prince, and the head of the others, and as St. Augustine says, to signify the primacy of his Apostolate; so that in a certain sense the whole Church spoke in

the person of St. Peter, as by the mouth of its head. Still the head speaks by itself, not by the body; and although St. Peter was not yet constituted the head and prince of the Church, (which only took place after his Lord's resurrection,) it is enough that he is already chosen as such, and had the assurance of it; as indeed the Apostles had not yet received the Apostolic power, for at that time this whole blessed company were simply disciples, with their regent, learning the profound lessons which afterwards they taught to others.

However I by no means deny that the rest of the Prelates of the Church have part in the use of the keys. The other Apostles had full authority in them, with this distinction only, that St. Peter in person received them for the advantage of all. But you will ask what difference there is between the promise of the keys made then by our Lord to St. Peter, and that which He made to the Apostles afterwards. For does it not seem the same, since our Lord, explaining what He meant by the grant of the keys, said, "And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;" and He said afterwards to the Apostles in general the same thing in the plural number; "Whatsoever ye shall bind." If then, you say, He promised in general what He promised to St. Peter in particular, there is no reason for saying that St. Peter is more than the others by this promise. We answer that both in the promise and in the execution of the promise, our Lord has always put first St. Peter in terms which compel us to recognize him as the head of the Church. With respect to the promise, I allow that by these words, "And whatsoever thou shalt bind," our Lord promised nothing more to St. Peter than to the other Apostles, in the words "Whatsoever ye shall bind." The words are of the same substance, and have the same signification in both passages. I allow also that by these words, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind," spoken to St. Peter, He explains the preceding "I will give unto thee the keys." But I deny that it is

wholly the *same thing* to promise the keys and to say, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind." Now let us consider what it is to promise the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. We know that a master leaving his house, if he leaves the keys to any one, signifies that he intends to leave him in charge and government. When princes make their entry into the cities of their state, the keys are presented to them as an acknowledgment of their sovereign authority. It is in like manner the supreme authority that our Lord promises and commits to St. Peter. And precisely so when Holy Scripture elsewhere intends to mark sovereign authority, it uses the like terms. In the Apocalypse when our Lord would make Himself known to His servant, He says to him, "I am He that liveth and was dead; and behold I am alive for evermore, amen; and have the keys of hell and of death."* What does He mean by the keys of death and hell, but the supreme authority which He has over both? When it is said of our Lord, "These things saith He that is holy, He that hath the key of David, He that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth,"† what can we understand, but that Jesus Christ has supreme authority in the Church? And in Isaiah, again, what is said of Eliakim corresponds closely with what our Lord says of St. Peter. The passage records the deposition of the High Priest and the governor of the temple. "Thus saith the Lord God of Hosts, Get thee unto this treasurer, even unto Shebna, which is over the house, and say, what hast thou here?"‡ And further on, "I will drive thee from thy station."¶ Here is the deposition of the one. Now read the institution of the other. "And it shall come to pass on that day that I will call my servant Eliakim, the son of Hilkiyah, and I will clothe him with thy robe, guard and strengthen him with thy girdle, and I will commit thy go-

vernment into his hands, and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah. And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so he shall open and none shall shut; and he shall shut and none shall open."§ Can any one thing be more like another than these two Scriptures? For "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in Heaven;" does it not import at least as much as "I will call my servant Eliakim, the son of Hilkiyah?" And what follows, "And I say also unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;" does this not import as much as, and more than, "I will clothe him with thy robe, and strengthen him with thy girdle, and I will commit thy government into his hand; and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and to the house of Judah?" To be the foundation-stone of a family, what else is it but to be as a father, holding the keys, having superintendence and government? Add also, to pursue points of resemblance, that if the one has this assurance, "I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven," the other has "The key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder." And if when the one shall open no one shall shut, when he shall shut no one shall open; so when the other shall unbind no one shall bind, when he shall bind no one shall unbind. The one is Eliakim son of Hilkiyah, the other Simon, Son of Jonas; the one is clothed with the Pontifical robe, the other with the Revelation from Heaven; the one has the power in his hand, the other in himself as a rock: the one is a father in Jerusalem; the other is a foundation in the Church; the one has the keys of the Temple of David, the other those of the Gospel. What then can we say, but that if ever Eliakim son of Hilkiyah was Head in the Mosaic Temple, Simon son of Jona was so in

* Rev. i. 18.

† Rev. iii. 7.

‡ Isai. xxii. 15.

¶ Verse 19.

§ Verses 20—22.—See Calmet on this passage.

the Evangelical Church. Eliakim represents our Lord as in a figure. St. Peter represents Him as a vicar. Eliakim represents Him in the Mosaic Church; St. Peter in the Christian Church. This then is the meaning of that promise of the keys made to St. Peter, a promise which was never made in like sense to the other Apostles.

But I add further, that it is not all one to promise the keys of a kingdom, and to say, "Whatsoever thou shalt loose," although the one be contained in the other. You will ask what difference do we find? Truly, all the difference there is between property in a thing and the use of it. It may well happen that a king's son, or his lieutenant, during the life and reign of the king, may have all the powers of the king himself, to punish, to absolve, and grant favors. They will not, however, have the sceptre, but only the use of the power. They may, indeed, have the same authority, but not the ownership in it, only its employment and exercise. They will acknowledge their power to be extraordinary, by commission and delegation, whereas the power of the king, though perhaps equal only, and no greater, is ordinary, in his person, and by propriety. So our Lord, in giving the keys to St. Peter, gives him ordinary authority, and gives him this office in propriety of which office He declares the use when He says "Whatsoever thou shalt bind." But when he made the same promise to the other Apostles, He did not give to them the keys, the ordinary authority, but only the delegation or use of the keys in their exercise and management. This difference is apparent in the expressions of Scripture; for "to loose," and "to bind," signify only action and exercise; "to hold the keys" signifies power and habitude. This then is the difference between the promise made by our Lord to St. Peter, and that which He made to the other Apostles. They have it by delegation, he as ordinary head. In truth it was fitting that the Apostles who were to plant the Church every where, should have full

power and entire authority to use the keys, and it was also very reasonable that one among them should by office and dignity have the custody of them, "ut Ecclesia, quæ una est," as St. Cyprian says, "supra unum, qui claves ejus accepit, voce Domini fundaretur."

IV. AFTER OUR LORD'S RESURRECTION,
ST. PETER IS APPOINTED SUPREME
PASTOR AND RULER OF HIS WHOLE
FLOCK.

We well know that our Lord gave a most ample procuration and commission to His Apostles, to treat with the world concerning salvation, when He said to them "As My Father hath sent me, even so send I you; and when He had said this He breathed upon them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit, &c."* It was for the execution of this promise that He had made to them in general, that He said again to them "Whatsoever you shall bind, &c." But to which of the others did He say, in particular, "Feed my sheep?" It was only St. Peter that received this charge. They were all equal in the Apostolate, but as for the pastoral dignity, St. Peter alone was constituted in it. "Feed my sheep." There are other Pastors in the Church, and all are bound "to feed the flock which is among them"—as St. Peter says. But "cui unquam aliorum sic absolute," says St. Bernard, "commisæ sunt oves? *Pasce oves meas.*" St. John attests that these words were spoken to St. Peter—"Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these?"† To St. Peter then in particular, our Lord said, "Feed my sheep." "Lovest thou me?" here we have St. Peter on the one hand; "more than these;" here we have the rest of the Apostles on the other. And although all the Apostles were not there,

* John xx. 21—23.

† John xxi. 15.

yet the principal were, St. James, St. John, St. Thomas, and others. Observe, it is only St. Peter who is aggrieved at this enquiry; it is St. Peter alone whose death is predicted.

Now who will deny that to feed the sheep is to have charge of the flock? To have charge of feeding the flock is nothing less than to be pastor and shepherd. The shepherds have full power over the sheep. They conduct them to the pasturage, bring them back, call, assemble, govern them, hold them in fear, punish, defend. In Holy Scripture to rule and to feed the people are taken for the same thing. David was elected King, and see how he is spoken of as chosen "to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance; so he fed them according to the integrity of his heart."* It is just as if He had said to rule or govern or reign over. It is in the same sense that the people are called sheep of the pasture of our Lord.† So to be commanded to feed the Christian sheep is to be their Ruler and Pastor, and so may we understand what authority our Lord gave to St. Peter by these words, "Feed my sheep." And this charge is so general that it comprehends all the faithful, of whatever condition they be; and so particular that it is addressed to St. Peter only. And so they who will be sheep of our Lord must recognize St. Peter, or him who holds his place, as their shepherd. "Si me amas," says St. Bernard, "pascere oves meas, non quasi illius vel illius populos civitatis aut regionis aut certi regni, sed oves meas inquit, et sic clarum est

non designasse aliquas, sed assignasse omnes, nihil excipitur ubi distinguitur nihil. Et forte præsentens condiscipuli erant, cum committens uni, unitatem omnibus commendaret, et in uno grege, et uno pastore, secundum illud, 'una est columba mea, formosa mea, perfecta mea', ubi unitas, ibi perfectio."

When our Lord said, "I know My sheep," He spoke of all; when He said, "Feed My sheep," He still spoke of all. "Take the charge of My fold, of My flock." Then if our Lord has but one flock, it is as a whole under the charge of St. Peter. In fact either He recommended all or some. If some, which are they? If all, as the words obviously imply, he is general Pastor of the whole Church. Nor is it without mystery, as St. Bernard shows, that our Lord said to him "Pascere agnos meos." "Pascere oves meas."

It is a futile objection of the ministers against St. Peter's primacy, that the Apostles sent Peter and John into Samaria. The people also sent Phineas, High Priest and chief, to the children of Reuben and Gad.‡ And the centurion in the Gospel sent the elders and chief of the Jews, whom he accounted superior to himself. St. Peter was in the Council, and himself assented to and authorized his own mission.

Again the ministers make much of this, that St. Paul rebuked St. Peter to the face. What of that? Who does not know that it is permitted for the less to rebuke the greater, and to admonish him, when charity requires it? Witness our St. Bernard, when with so much charity he instructs a Pope. And on this very point we have the golden words of St. Gregory. "Factus est sequens minoris sui, ut in humilitate etiam præiret, quatenus qui primus erat in Apostolatus culmine, esset primus in humilitate."||

* Psalm lxxviii. 71, 72.

† "In Bibliis reges dicuntur pastores, ... quare hoc nomen persæpe Deo tribuitur, qui erat rex Hebræorum. Conf. Ps. xxiii, 1—4. viii. 2. Jos. xi, 10. lxiii. 11. Jer. x, 21. xxii. 22. xxiii. 1. xxxi, 11. xxxvi, 40. i, 6. ii, 23. Mic. v. 5. Nahum iii, 18. Ezech. x, 24. xxxiv, 2, 23. xxxvii, 24. Zachar. x, 3. viii, 26. xi, 5. In antiquo quidem fœdere hæc tropica pastorum notio perpetuo indicat regem, ætate vero Christi nomini pastorum condecorabantur præceptores Judæorum, quod primum ex schola stoicorum descendit, qui solos sapientes statuunt esse vere reges."—JAHN. *Archæologia Biblica*, ad calcem, § 42.

‡ Josh. xxii. 13, 14.—See also Acts xv. 2, where St. Paul and Barnabas are sent by the faithful at Antioch.

|| St. Augustine, St. Jerome, &c., give the same view.

V. ST. PETER IS CONFIRMED IN THE FAITH, AND RECEIVES THE POWER OF CONFIRMING THE FAITH OF THE FAITHFUL.

Great certainly was the privilege of St. Peter. To which of the others did the Son of God say, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren?"* Here are two privileges of great import. Our Lord prayed for St. Peter only as Head of the Church. What other reason can be alleged for this prerogative? "Satan hath desired you"—all of you; "but I have prayed for thee." Is not this to put him for all as Head and Leader of the whole flock? If we look attentively at what precedes, our Lord seems to intimate to His Apostles that there was one among them greater than the rest. "He that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger," and in the same connexion, our Lord says to him, that the adversary desired to sift them, all of them, and yet that He had prayed for him in particular, that the faith should not fail in his person. All are tempted, the prayer is for him alone. The Protestant allows that our Lord indeed prayed for St. Peter in particular, but for some other reason. The imagination is fertile in pretexts for opiniativeness, but there is no good reason except that he was head of the others, and that the faith of the others was maintained in their common Pastor. He prays for St. Peter as for the strengthening of the rest. Is not this to declare him Head of the Apostles? And if St. Peter supports and confirms the foundation-stones themselves, will he not confirm all the rest? If he has the charge of sustaining the pillars of the Church, will he not sustain the whole building? The gardener who observes the continual heat of the sun on a young plant to preserve it from the dryness with which it is threatened, does not apply the water to each branch; he contents himself with nourishing well the root, and accounts

all the rest in safety, because the root distributes the moisture to all the rest of the plant. Thus our Lord having planted this holy congregation of His disciples, prayed for the Head, watered the root; that the water of the living faith might not fail in him who was to refresh all the rest. He prays then for St. Peter in particular, but for the general benefit of the whole Church.

Remark also that St. Peter did not lose the faith when he denied the Lord. From fear he discovered what he believed. He believed in his heart but spoke ill with his mouth. Then he was not confirmed as yet, to justify the words of our Lord—"And when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren."

VI. ST. PETER IS ALWAYS RANKED FIRST IN THE LIST OF APOSTLES.

It is a remark worthy of consideration on this subject, that the Evangelists never name either all the Apostles or a part of them without placing St. Peter at the head of the company. And this can not be said to be without reason, for it is a constant thing with the Evangelists, who have not done it four or five times only, but very often. With regard to the other Apostles, they do not always observe the same order. "Now the names of the twelve Apostles are,...The first, Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas and Matthew the Publican, James the son of Alphæus, and Lebbaeus, whose surname was Thaddeus; Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot."†

St. Matthew names St. Andrew here as the second; St. Mark names him as the fourth; and still further to show that it is indifferent, St. Luke, who has named him second in one place, in another places him fourth. St. Matthew puts St. John fourth, St. Mark third, St. Luke fourth in one place, in another

* Luke xxii. 32.

† Matt : x. 2—4.

second. There are indeed only three, St. Philip, St. James son of Alphaeus, and Judas, who are not at one time placed higher, at another lower. The only observance of rank is that St. Peter always comes first.

And further, very often when the Evangelists speak of the Apostolic company, they name only Peter. "Simon and they that were with him followed Him." "Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep." "Peter and they that were with him said."* You are aware that to designate one person by name, and to put the others together, is to render that person the most conspicuous, and to mark the rest as inferior.

Often also the Evangelists have named St. Peter separately from the others, as did the Angel, "Tell His disciples and Peter." "Peter standing up with the Eleven." "They said to Peter and the rest." "Peter and the other Apostles answered and said."

What means this, "Tell His disciples and Peter?" Was Peter an Apostle? Was he less or more than the others? Was he equal? If he be equal with the others, (and no one in his senses will say he was less,) why is he mentioned apart? If there be nothing peculiar in him, why is it not said, "Tell his disciples and Andrew," or "John?" Only once in Scripture is St. Peter named after another Apostle. "James, Cephas, and John." But in truth there is good reason for doubting whether in the original St. Peter was not named first. St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and St. Jerome, both in commentary and in text, have written "Peter, James, and John," which they would not have done if this order had not existed in their copies. Then against this single and doubtful text we have the explicit order already spoken of as occurring very frequently. St. Matthew too says "the first Simon," and he does not say "the second Andrew," "The third Jacob," but goes on simply with their names.

Our adversaries object to us, that if the Evangelists have named St. Peter first, it was because he was the eldest amongst the Apostles, or for some other privilege which he possessed. This is a pure imagination. It is not told us in Scripture. What is told us is, that it was on Peter that Jesus Christ founded His Church; that it was he to whom He confided the keys of the kingdom of Heaven; that it was he who was appointed the sustainer of his brethren; that it was he who was commissioned to feed and rule the Christian fold. All this is in Scripture, and is very good reason for his being called "the first."

VII. SOME OTHER MARKS SCATTERED IN SCRIPTURE, SETTING FORTH THE PRIMACY OF ST. PETER.

If it is said that the Church is compared to a building, St. Peter is the rock it is built on. If you say it is as a family, our Lord pays tribute as Head of the household, and St. Peter as His Steward. If it is a ship, St. Peter is the Master. If it is a fishing, St. Peter is the chief in it,—the other disciples fish with him;—St. Peter throws the nets into the sea and drags them,—the other disciples are his coadjutors:—St. Peter drags them on shore, and presents the fishes to our Lord. If to an embassy you compare it, St. Peter is the Principal. If you prefer to call it a kingdom, St. Peter bears the keys in his hand. Will you, lastly, regard it as a fold or an enclosure, St. Peter is the Pastor and Chief Shepherd under Jesus Christ.

Now, how could our Lord more openly indicate His intention? Prejudice, however, can not see even in so clear a light.

But let us proceed.

(1) When our Lord ascended to Heaven, all the Apostolic company went to the house of St. Peter, as head and common father of the family; it is Scripture which informs us.

* Mark i. 36. Luke viii. 45, ix. 32.

(2) The same St. Peter rises in the midst and speaks first; he teaches the interpretation of a very important prophecy; he takes the principal part in the election of him who was to fill up the number of Apostles; in fact it is he who first proposes to elect an Apostle, a mark of no slight authority, for the Apostles have had no successors, and have not lost their dignity by death; but St. Peter, teaching the Church, shows that Judas had forfeited his Apostolate, and that another was to be elected in his place, against the ordinary course of this dignity, which continues even after death, and the exercise of which will be continued at the day of judgment, when the Apostles, seated round the Judge, shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel.

(3) The Apostles and the disciples have no sooner received the Holy Ghost, than St. Peter, as chief of the Apostolic embassy, begins, according to the obligation of his charge, the holy message of salvation to the Jews at Jerusalem. He is the first teacher of the Church of God, preaching repentance with ardent zeal; the others indeed are with him, and all are interrogated, but St. Peter alone speaks for all, as Head of all.

(4) If it is necessary to open the treasure of miracles granted to the Church, although St. John is there, and is even invoked, St. Peter alone and first performs the work.

(5) Is a beginning to be made in the use of the spiritual sword of the Church of Jesus Christ to chastise falsehood? It is St. Peter who directs the first blow against Ananias and Sapphira.

(6) He is the first who recognizes error and refutes heresy in the person of Simon the Magician.

(7) He is the first who raises the dead, when he prayed for the devout Tabitha.

(8) When it was time to put hand and sickle to the harvest, to attack Paganism, it is St. Peter to whom the revelation is addressed as general-in-chief of all the labourers, and steward of the harvest.

(9) When the good and devout Centurion Cornelius was ready to receive the grace of the Gospel, he is referred to the ministry of St. Peter, in order that by his hands might be dedicated and blessed the vocation of the Gentiles.

(10) He is the first who commanded to baptize idolaters, and to whom it was revealed that there is nothing unclean before God, and which may not be sanctified.

(11) If the Apostles meet in general Council, St. Peter, as president, opens the way to the judgment and definition; his sentence is followed by the others, and his particular revelation serves as law.

(12) St. Paul declares that he came to Jerusalem expressly to see St. Peter, and that he remained fifteen days with him to consult him: he saw there St. James, but he had not come to see him but St. Peter. It is because St. Peter was chief.

(13) Hence it comes also, that St. Peter being in prison, all the Church offered continual prayers for his deliverance.

APPENDIX II.

ANGLICAN MISREPRESENTATIONS.

NO ONE who will take the trouble to read the quotations that have been brought together in this volume, will deny that the teaching of Antiquity is apparently, to say the least, in favour of the Papal Supremacy. The answer that will most readily occur to a member of the English Establishment is this:—that Laud, and Barrow, and Stillingfleet have written books to show how such testimony may be weakened or overthrown. Doubtless they have done so, but then they wrote for a particular purpose. They were not seeking truth, but defending a modern theory; and with this object they hunted out the evidences of the Pope's Supremacy, not to view them as a whole, and to judge of their force as one does in reading the evidences of Christianity, but to assail them one by one, and at all hazards to explain them away. It may be said of such writers, and the difficulty of refuting them, as Bishop Butler said of Sceptics;—"It is easy to show in a short, lively manner, that such and such things are liable to objection, that this and another thing is of little weight in itself, but impossible to show in like manner the united force of the whole argument in one view." Mr. Newman, from whose "Essay on Development" this quotation is taken, refers to another Protestant author, who condemns "that vicious manner of reasoning which represents any insufficiency of proof in its

several branches as so much objection;" which "manages the enquiry so as to make it appear that if the divided arguments be inconclusive one by one, we have a series of exceptions to the truths of religion, instead of a train of favourable presumptions growing stronger at every step. The disciple of scepticism is taught that he can not fully rely on this or that motive of belief, that each of them is insecure, and the conclusion is put upon him that they ought to be discarded one after another instead of being connected and combined." "No work," adds Mr. Newman, "affords more specimens in a short compass of the breach of the principle of reasoning inculcated in these passages, than Barrow's Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy."

Let the reader keep this in mind, if in consequence of what he has read here, he is disposed to enquire what can be said on the other side. But there is *another* thing, against which he should be on his guard, and that is—FALSE WITNESS.

Some of the misrepresentations contained in Archbishop Laud's controversy with Fisher, have been already pointed out. Mr. Allwood's "Lectures on the Papal claim" will furnish us with some more. His work is selected, partly for the reason mentioned in the Preface, namely, that it has been put prominently forward in order to counteract what little influence over others might

be exercised by the writer of these pages, and partly because, as Mr. Allwood professes to have entered into the labours of other men, it is hoped that, at least in many instances, he is chargeable with nothing more than undue confidence in his authorities. Thus the writer is enabled to place the frauds that have been palmed upon the Anglicans of Sydney in the most forcible light, and to use with respect to them the plainest language, without the pain of censuring any individual. The falsehoods will be exposed, but no effort will be made to ascertain who is responsible for them. This is known to the Judge of all, and we may safely leave it in His hands. The love of truth requires only that the dishonesty of the current *statements* should be made known, but, since nothing whatever can be gained by a knowledge of the dishonest *persons*, we shall in charity believe, that as Mr. Allwood copied from Mr. Palmer, so Mr. Palmer copied from Stillingfleet, Stillingfleet from Laud, and Laud from his predecessors.

It is true that Mr. Allwood says "he has, with very few exceptions, cautiously abstained from citing any passages without having himself diligently examined and determined their faithful meaning." But we may hope, (even against hope, so as to be, for charity's sake, on the safe side,) that the passages to which attention will presently be drawn, were among those few. If they bear a larger proportion to the rest of his work than his assertion seems to warrant, it arises, perhaps, from his having *forgotten* many of them. Allowance must be made for the haste with which the Lectures were written, for the great difficulty the author had (as all the Anglican Clergy have,) in procuring books from the Theological library, and for the readiness with which a man unconsciously adopts a disingenuous argument, when his mind is thoroughly made up before hand as to the truth of his conclusion.

We proceed then to our undertaking with something of a hope that even Mr.

Allwood himself will be moved to no anger, but, to use his own words, will rather "feel thankful to one, who, really desirous to promote the cause of Truth, points out errors into which he may have unintentionally fallen."

I.

The first case of misrepresentation that shall be cited from the Lectures, is one of the most painful in the whole volume, it being exceedingly difficult to find an excuse for any one of the persons who, from the time of the Reformation downwards to Mr. Allwood himself, have helped to propagate it. It is contained in the following words:—

"But I will quote another passage from THIS ELOQUENT FATHER. Writing on the very point of the privileges granted to St. Peter, and the powers claimed by Rome from him, he says, 'But now from your own argument, whence do you usurp this right for the Church? If from our Lord's saying to Peter, upon this rock I will build my Church, to thee I have given the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; or, whatsoever thou shalt bind or loose on earth shall be bound or loosed in Heaven; dost thou therefore presume this power of loosing and binding to have descended to thee, that is to the whole Church which is related to Peter? Who art thou, thus overturning and changing the manifest intention of our Lord, who conferred this on Peter personally. Upon thee, he said, I will build my Church, and to thee I will give the keys—not to the Church; [how, does *this* suit the Anglican theory?]'—and whatsoever thou shalt bind or loose—not whatsoever they shall bind or loose. So likewise the event teaches. On him the Church was built—that is through him; he furnished the key; behold what key? Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved by God among you, &c.' I can not think that any other observations are requisite to prove that the present doctrine of

the Supremacy of the Church of Rome was not the doctrine of Tertullian's age.We have just quoted Tertullian... EXPRESSLY WRITING ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AGAINST HERETICS."

If Mr. Allwood had "diligently examined," nay if he had read one page of the treatise from which this passage is taken, he would have known that the words were *not* those of an "eloquent Father," but of a *mad heretic*. He would have known that they were not what he wished them to be considered, the testimony of a Catholic against the Pope, but that of a Montanist against the Catholics, *including* their Chief Bishop, and addressing them through him. They go forth to the world, with the weight of Mr. Allwood's name, as an overwhelming proof that the Church of the second century was a Protestant Church; and so, through the unhappy circumstance of this being one of the "very few" passages which are exceptions to the general rule which Mr. Allwood observed, he has "unintentionally fallen into the error" of conveying a falsehood. He will find on referring to the passage, as he will probably do now his error is pointed out, that some unknown person has dishonestly suppressed the context which shows the quotation to be part of the ravings of a wild fanatic, protesting, as Luther did 1300 years afterwards, against all that is truly Catholic; against the *Church* as well as against the Pope.

It can not be doubted that when the Lectures were written, the author fully believed that Tertullian was an "eloquent Father, expressly writing on the principles of the Christian Church against heretics." It cannot be doubted that he took it all upon trust, and the only blame that can be attached to him so far, is, that a passage having, even according to Anglican principles, marks of heresy on the face of it, did not induce him to be "cautious," and at least to read the context before he cited so very important a testimony, solely on the authority of others. But then here

comes a difficulty which we shall rejoice to hear satisfactorily explained. At the end of the Lectures there are notes, and among them is one to the following effect:—

"The witness against Roman Supremacy contained in this passage has been objected to, inasmuch as it was written after Tertullian had become a follower of Montanus; it is sufficient to answer that the errors of Montanus had no relation whatever to the question before us."

Now, without stopping to enquire what can possibly be meant by this "sufficient answer,"* we will content ourselves with asking Mr. Allwood how it is that when he was informed about the great mistake he had made, he did not at once draw the attention of his readers to it, and make all due amends. Does he really think there was no harm in the assertion that one who believed in the Divine mission of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, was a *Catholic Father*, and that a heretic inveighing in the wildest manner against the Church, was *expressly writing on Church principles against heretics*? The Protestant who *first* said this was guilty of a wicked fraud. And such Mr. Allwood when he found it out, *must* have regarded it. It is not our part to be his judges, but we would in all gentleness implore him to consider whether he has not thoughtlessly done grievous wrong to the enquirers after Truth; whether he has not (account for it how he may) been an instrument in propagating a mischievous falsehood, and is not bound to RESTITUTION. He has (unwittingly, we earnestly hope) helped to rob men of the Truth. May God put it into his heart to do hereafter

* Montanus professed to be the Holy Spirit, and he with his followers separated from the Church and brought all sorts of charges against Catholics, amongst others that their Supreme Pastor, the Pope, was a Usurper. If Mr. Allwood's "eloquent Father" believed in Montanus, he could not believe in the Pope, and the matter has just so much relation to the question before us as to make Tertullian bear the strongest possible testimony in favour of the Pope, instead of being against him.

what lies in his power to restore that priceless Treasure. If what has been said induces him to examine the matter, he will do an act of mercy to himself and of justice to those whom he has, in his own degree, kept from the Church of God, by publicly acknowledging his error;—by confessing that Tertullian was, in fact, to all intents and purposes, a *Protestant*, and that at the end of the second century, the Papal Supremacy was just as much the object of Protestant opposition as it is now.

That Mr. Allwood and his Anglican friends may imagine to themselves how this misrepresentation of his appears in the eyes of Catholics, we will put a parallel case.

Suppose a Catholic Lecturer on the veneration of sacred images, had used the following words:—

“Writing on the very point of the usages of primitive Christians, St. Epiphanius says, ‘They have painted images, and some even of gold and silver, as well as of other material, which they adore as representatives of Jesus.’”

A Protestant, reading this, would be struck by the improbability of it, and would hunt out the passage. He would find the words rightly quoted, but the context, which gives quite an opposite meaning to the passage, suppressed. The usage is that of the *Gnostics*, who sacrificed to our Lord’s image, in common with those of Plato and Pythagoras. Suppose the writer had in a *note* at the end of the book, explained the quotation, saying, “It is true these people were Gnostics, but it is sufficient to answer that the errors of the Gnostics had no relation to the question before us.” What would Mr. Allwood say to this? Would he be very gentle and charitable in his language? Let him reflect then that whatever *he* would say if he were called upon to give his opinion in such a case, that may every Catholic justly say on reading his Lectures.

It was our sincere wish to avoid all censure of Mr. Allwood himself, and yet even at the outset we have scarcely refrained. Let any unprejudiced reader

say if we have not done our best for him.

II.

At page 84, the following words are given as a “very strong, and *with-the-pretensions-of-Rome-irreconcilable* expression.”*

“The Episcopate is one, and he to whom a part is assigned has an interest in the whole.”

Even supposing this were what St. Cyprian says, there would be nothing very irreconcilable in it; but in fact he does *not* say this. The interpretation *may* perhaps be defended by ingenious argument, but to quote it as a matter of course, as if every body would at once admit that such is the real sense of the holy Father’s words is not fair. Here is the Latin sentence, and the reader may judge whether Mr. Allwood’s “strong expression” is a true representation of it:—

“Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.” Will any one say that the following is not an equally good translation, and quite as “strong” in favour of the Catholic doctrine? viz. :—

“The Episcopate is one, a portion of which is held by individuals without separation from the whole.”

III.

In the next page we read, “And in an epistle to Cornelius, assigning the reason why Rome takes precedence of Carthage, he makes not the slightest allusion to any difference among the Apostles, or amongst the Bishops who succeeded them, but puts it on the ground of secular advantage; ‘plainly,’ he says, ‘on account of its magnitude, (the Church of) Rome ought to take precedence of (the Church of) Carthage.’”

* In another place Mr. Allwood says that in order to establish these “pretensions,” Catholics “have a right to show” something which is not clear to himself. St. Jerome would have regarded the Anglican Divine as in more respects than one resembling the semi-Protestant Rufinus.—See page 32. Note.

It is fortunate that "the Church of" is included in a parenthesis, for St. Cyprian certainly never said a word about the Church in the passage; nor is he "assigning reasons." The sentence quoted is a mere playful allusion to the extravagances of Novatus. This heretic, he says, made a Deacon only at Carthage, but when he went to Rome he made a Bishop. "It is fit that Rome, from her greatness, should have precedence of Carthage, and there accordingly he committed the greater outrages." No one would dream from Mr. Allwood's words what was the true meaning of the passage; and no one who had not a tottering cause to support could bring himself to found any argument upon it at all.

IV.

At page 86, the word *compelled* in Italics, is used with an especial object, as a translation of the Latin words, "*Aliquantum commotus.*"

V.

At page 92, we have a letter from St. Cyprian, in which it is said that Basilides went to Rome and misrepresented there the facts of his case. The Lecturer apparently desires to show that Popes may be deceived in matters of fact, as if any Catholic ever disputed it; but immediately after the first sentence of the passage here cited, there are words which speak plainly of the Pope's power, and *therefore they are omitted.* The words are "*ut exambiret reponi se injuste in Episcopatum, de quo fuerat juste depositus,*" "that he might contrive to be unfairly reinstated in the See from which he had been justly deposed;"—unfairly, not because the Pope had no right to restore him, but because that right would be exercised under an erroneous view of the circumstances of his case. The letter continues thus:—"The effect of this is not to efface, but to swell the crimes of Basilides, in that to his former sins is thus added the guilt of deceit and circumvention, for it is not so much for us to censure the

deceived who was taken unawares, as to execrate the deceiver;" meaning of course, "it is not for us to find fault with the Pope, *but rather* to condemn Basilides." In order, however, to imply as much censure of the Holy See as he can, Mr. Allwood omits altogether the antithesis of "*culpandus,*" and "*excrandus,*" and gives the following translation. "He who was taken unawares and deceived, is not to be condemned as much as he who practised the fraud successfully." Immediately after this, Mr. Allwood adds, as if it was part of the context, and without any marks to show that he has omitted any thing, a sentence which in fact occurs two or three pages afterwards. It is this:—"Wherefore, dearest brethren, although there be some of our colleagues who ventured to neglect the Divine discipline, and rashly communicate with Basilides and Martialis, our confidence should not be disturbed." Standing as it does thus close to the preceding words about St. Stephen's being deceived, it seems of course to set the Papal authority at nought, but in the original it has no such force. The Spanish Bishops whose letters St. Cyprian was answering, had written to inform him that Basilides and Martialis had lapsed into idolatry, and in such case his opinion was that the decision made by St. Stephen, when he was ignorant of facts, should have no influence on their conduct; *especially*, he says, because St. Cornelius, (the Pope who preceded St. Stephen,) had long since *decreed*, in conjunction with all the Bishops in the world, "that such men might be admitted to do penance, but must not be allowed to officiate again. There is no doubt whatever that St. Stephen confirmed the decision of St. Cyprian and the other Catholic Bishops as soon as he was in possession of the facts.

VI.

At page 109 we read, "St. Athanasius made application to the *Western Churches* and to Julius, Bishop of Rome, as the principal Bishop of the West." So says Mr. Allwood. But what do the histo-

rians say? "St. Athanasius immediately hastens to Rome," "and laid his case before *Julius, who restored him by virtue of his peculiar prerogative; (SOCRATES);*—"since because of the dignity of his See, the care of all belonged to him. (SOZOMEN.) And ST. ATHANASIUS himself has preserved the letter of St. Julius, asserting the especial authority of the Holy See, to which he had recourse. The "application to the Western Churches and to Julius," as simply the Bishop of one of them, was a convenient idea, but not a true one.

VII.

In the same page Mr. Allwood translates the Greek word *ἡγεῖσθαι* "directed," and so makes St. Athanasius say, (somewhat ludicrously,) that a handful of Arian schismatics *directed* the Pope to call a Council, and to be, *if he pleased*, himself the judge of their case. The awkwardness of *directing* any one to do something "if he pleased" occurred to the Lecturer, and so in the latter clause, he substitutes another verb, namely "referred," which is not in the original at all. The real meaning of the Greek word is "*claimed.*" The Arians put in a claim to be heard before a general Council, and to have their case considered by the Pope. Yet Mr. Allwood positively goes on to found an argument against the supremacy upon the force of the word *ἡγεῖσθαι*. He gravely speaks of the Pope's acting "in obedience to the direction of the Eastern Bishops." When St. Julius summoned these same "Eastern Bishops," (of whom more presently,) to Rome, the word is not *ἡγεῖσθαι*, but *ἐκκλησιάζειν*.

VIII.

Mr. Allwood speaks of the Eastern Prelates cited by him, as of men after his own heart, and so they certainly were, for they were opponents of Rome. But he has an object in speaking of them as he does. It is to represent them as *Catholics*,—*Catholic opponents of Rome*, like himself. "Such," he says, "were the sentiments of the Eastern Bishops

on Papal jurisdiction;"—"We shall be better able to judge of the opinions of these Eastern Prelates," &c. In reality their "sentiments" and "opinions," whether on this or any other subject, are in the eyes of Catholics, utterly valueless, save only as they testify to the agreement of all heretics in their hatred of Rome. There is much the same deception here on the part of the originator of Mr. Allwood's argument, as in the case of Tertullian. *The Prelates with whom he sympathizes were ARIANS.*

IX.

Protestants, however, as they were, the Arians had, at the period of history referred to in the lectures, too much respect for Rome to please their successors of the nineteenth century. Accordingly Mr. Allwood, or the person to whom he is indebted, does his best to make them more Protestant than they really were. He gives what professes to be Sozomen's account of their letter to the Pope, at page 110; but it is so altered that it would have been very difficult for that historian to recognize the passage as his own. The tone of Mr. Allwood's quotation is one of approval, whereas, in the original, the passage conveys a manifest censure of the heretics, both for their rebellion, and for their inconsistency in pretending to honour an authority, which in fact they set at nought. Some petty omissions or alterations occur in every other line, trifling in themselves, yet quite enough for the desired effect. One instance will serve as a specimen. Mr. Allwood writes, "They allowed a certain degree of honour to the Church of the Romans, as the school of the Apostles, and metropolis of *piety* from the beginning," whereas Sozomen's words are these: "They acknowledged that the Church of Rome was *universally held in honour* (*πᾶσι φιλοτιμίας*) as having been the school of the Apostles, and the metropolis of *orthodoxy* from the beginning." The ordinary meaning of the word we have rendered "*orthodoxy*" is, as Mr. Allwood translates it, "*piety*;"

there is no intentional misrepresentation, therefore, in this. It arose from a simple want of familiarity with the language of the Greek Fathers; but what excuse can be made for the translation he has given of the Greek words we have quoted, it is beyond our power to conjecture.

X.

At page 113, a very important sentence in the letter of St. Julius is suppressed. "I declare to you what we have learned [the word is *παρὰ τὴν Πατρὶν*, received by inheritance] from the blessed Peter." So far Mr. Allwood. But St. Julius proceeds as follows:—"And I should not have written thus, as deeming that these things were manifest to all men, had not these proceedings so disturbed us;"—that is to say, it was a universally understood tradition from St. Peter, that the Churches from all parts of the world should refer to Rome when Bishops were suspected, and obtain "a just sentence" from the Pope. This custom had been mentioned in Mr. Allwood's quotation, but by the sentence omitted it is brought into remarkable prominence. Here, as elsewhere, the translator proceeds without any intimation, by the usual signs, that he has passed over some portion of his author. The garbled passage is presented to the reader as if it were entire.

XI.

At page 117, Mr. Allwood says the words "to the head; that is to the See of Peter," are not to be found among the decrees of Sardica. "The words" he continues, "are as follows."—Every body, who knows anything about the subject at all, knows where they are, and where they are not to be found. They are *not* in the decrees;—they are in the Synodical Epistle to the Pope. But though what Mr. Allwood says is in the letter true, it conveys a falsehood. Those for whom the Lectures were intended could only understand from it that the expression alluded to was not made use of by the Council. "The

words" were *not* "as follows," for they are not the words alluded to. In the pamphlet printed at the beginning of Mr. Allwood's book, p. xvi, the author says, "The Council of Sardica decreed, that Bishops and Priests when aggrieved might appeal to the Bishop of Rome—to the head, that is to the See of Peter." (Can. iii. Con. gen. t. ii. p. 680, *et Epis. Synod. ad Julium.*) The decree is in Canon iii,—the title in the Epistle. If Mr. Allwood turned to both these references, he must have seen "the words" which he virtually tells his readers are not to be found. If he was contented with the first reference alone, he was making a random assertion, and was guilty of an act of great injustice to the writer of the pamphlet he was answering.

The words are these:—"For it seems to be the best, and by far the most fitting way, for the Lord's Priests from every province in the world, to have recourse to the Head, that is, to the See of the Apostle Peter." So said the Catholics. Mr. Allwood's Arian friends on the other hand said, "They thought" (these Sardican Prelates) to introduce a new law, that the Eastern Bishops should be judged by the Western." "No wonder that," as Mr. Milman says, "men involved in one common cause the two tenets, the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, and the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome," for it was simply the continued opposition of their heretical definitions of faith, which made them, in the face of their own repeated acts, and of the universally prevailing custom, to speak of the Sardican decree as the introducing of a new law.

XII.

Mr. Allwood tries to invalidate the witness of the Council of Sardica by representing their decrees as being only of temporary obligation. For this purpose he quotes one of the three Canons in which the then Pope happens to be mentioned by name, giving this as all that the Council said upon the subject. "The words," he says, "are as follows."

They are not *the* words, but only *some* of them. The fourth Canon decrees, in general terms, that the See of an appealing Bishop shall not be filled up until the decision of *the Bishop of Rome* is known; the seventh, that if *the Bishop of Rome* so please, legates "*e latere*" shall be sent to decide the case of an appealing Bishop.

XIII.

At page 118, Mr. Allwood, with the ordinary recklessness of Protestant controversialists, brings a railing accusation against some of God's holiest saints. He speaks evil of dignities, and, in support of his calumny, says what is untrue. In spite of our desire to be gentle, it is impossible to refrain from words of indignation, when men of no especial celebrity for either sanctity or learning unscrupulously assail the character of those whom the Church has ever held in veneration. Mr. Allwood brings a charge of *forgery* against St. Zosimus, St. Boniface, and St. Cælestine;—"the venerable Pope Zosimus," "the blessed Pope Boniface," "Pope Cælestine of blessed memory," as they are called by St. Augustine, St. Prosper, and St. Vincent of Lirins;—witnesses who are quite as *likely* to know what sort of men they were as any Protestant minister of the nineteenth century. To substantiate his charge, the accuser, as we have said, bears false witness. "In the Synodical letters," he writes, "addressed to the Church of Alexandria, and to the Bishops of the whole Catholic Church, in which a very long account is given of their proceedings, there is not one word of any Canons having been enacted." Yet in the letters alluded to, we read as follows:—"What *decrees* have been passed by the holy Council against those who are the head of the Arian heresy, and have offended against you, and the rest of the Churches, you will learn from the *subjoined documents*." The Canons in question were expressly directed against the leaders of the Arians.

Besides the Saints already mentioned, there is another involved in Mr. All-

wood's charge, viz., St. Leo the Great; who, like his predecessors, speaks of the Sardican Canons as of Nicene authority. The fact, in all probability, is this. At Nice there were *more* Canons passed than the twenty that are now extant, or if Natalis Alexander is right in denying this, there were, at any rate, what St. Ambrose calls "*Tractatus*" put forth by authority of the Nicene Fathers, of which now there are no traces. This is absolutely certain from plain allusions in St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose, St. Epiphanius, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and the sixth Council of Carthage. The Fathers then at Sardica, the majority of whom had been at Nice, and who met with no other intention than to confirm the decisions of the former Council,—*their own* decisions,—contented themselves with embodying in more regular formal statements, the "*Tractatus*" of Nice, and in some instances, perhaps, adding a few words of explanation. It would be but natural, in such case, that the proceedings of Sardica should be appended to those of Nice; and, in this way, we are able to account for what at first sight seems a difficulty, without resorting to the absurd and indecent accusation which Mr. Allwood dwells upon with so much satisfaction. The same hypothesis will account equally well for the fact that the Sardican Synod was not reckoned among the Fathers as an Ecumenical Council, and for the ignorance about it manifested by St. Augustine and the other African Prelates.

XIV.

At page 119, and elsewhere, Mr. Allwood speaks of the African Bishops being "*indignant*" at the interference of Rome. There is no ground whatever for the assertion. The whole history of the African Church manifests a spirit of willing submission to the Holy See. Their anxiety to prevent frequent appeals to the Pope arose not from want of deference for the successors of St. Peter, but from the practical inconvenience occasioned by misrepresentations of par-

ties under the censure of local authorities. St. Zosimus's legates quoted the Sardico-Nicene Canons, not to assert a right universally admitted, but to show the determination of the Church as to the expediency of exercising that right, in this particular matter. The African Bishops then questioned the judgment of the Council, not the right of the Pope, and they were anxious to show that St. Zosimus's legates were wrong in supposing the Council had come to any decision on the subject. The subsequent conduct of St. Augustine and the other Bishops, in regard to the Bishop of Fussala, proves, beyond all doubt, that they had no intention to oppose the Bishop of Rome, or to refrain from having recourse to him on all legitimate occasions. Indeed there is every reason to believe, from their conduct in this very instance, that when their enquiries had satisfied them as to the real authority of the Sardico-Nicene Canons, they acquiesced entirely in the decision of the Church.

XV.

At page 127, Mr. Allwood says that in his letters to St. Athanasius, St. Basil the Great makes not "one single allusion to the Bishop of Rome," but includes him under the general head of the Western Bishops. We turn to St. Basil's letters to test his assertion, in the full expectation of finding it to be untrue. And we are not disappointed. In the 52nd Epistle we read:—"It seemed fit to us to write to the Bishop of Rome to beg him to visit our affairs, and to interpose a decree of his judgment; that as it is difficult for any to be sent from hence about the Council's decision, he himself may give authority to chosen men, who.....may bring with them the acts of the Council of Ariminum, and modify them where they seem to be harsh."

XVI.

The testimony of St. Damasus to the Supremacy of the Holy See is so unanswerable, that Mr. Allwood was again

driven to the ordinary resource of those who unreasonably assail the truth, viz., calumny. St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine and Rufinus, vindicate the holy man's claim to the veneration of the faithful, but it suited Mr. Allwood's purpose to side against the Fathers of the Church, with the schismatics Marcellinus and Faustinus. He ought, in common fairness, to have stated his authorities, lest his readers should suppose, that he had sought for truth among the *Catholics*, not among the *heretics* of the day.*

XVII.

St. Optatus, in speaking of the marks of the Catholic Church, says the Donatists knew very well that the chair of unity was established at Rome, in which Peter should sit as the Head of the Apostles, and unity should be maintained by all, "in qua *sederit* omnium Apostolorum caput Petrus,...in qua una cathedra unitas ab omnibus *servaretur*." This, as it stood in the original, could not be explained, and Mr. Allwood, therefore, (or the writer from whom he copies,) alters it, so as to adapt it as well as he can to the Anglican theory. "*Sederit*" he translates "*sat*," and "*servaretur*" "*was maintained*;" to make it appear a mere fact in history, and not at all *intended* by our Lord as a means of unity.†

XVIII.

At page 146, Mr. Allwood says, "Bnt

* We mean, of course, those of his readers who are disposed to trust him, and who themselves know nothing of the Fathers. Very little research is necessary to shew that the Lecturer invariably sides with heretics of different denominations, in their opposition to the Catholic Church. The Montanists, the Donatists, the Arians, and the Eutychians, are his especial friends.

† The *first* of these subjunctives may perhaps have an indicative sense, if it is regarded as occurring in what Grammarians call "oblique narration," but this can not be the case "ith the latter, for there is another clause intervening, with its verb in the indicative—"unde et Cephas appellatus est."

there is a passage in this Father's treatise, in which he expresses his opinion of the independence and lawful authority and judgment of Bishops in terms which no man could use who acknowledged the jurisdiction or held the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome." Will it be believed that there is not one syllable about independence of Bishops, or the nature of their jurisdiction with respect to each other, in the whole book! As for the passage alluded to, it can not by any ingenuity be made to bear the sense given it by Mr. Allwood. "Every Bishop had a right to judge for himself, and to exercise his own authority, and could no more be judged by another than he could lawfully judge another." This, says Mr. Allwood, St. Optatus expresses here *in the plainest possible terms*; the fact being that the holy Father says nothing whatever in the remotest degree resembling this. What he does say is simply, that the Donatist Bishops were wrong in their absurd pretension to hold no communion with sinners. *Catholics*, says Optatus, are more charitable;—for if Bishops were to separate all sinners from the Church, what would be left for Christ to do at the day of judgment? "Nemo sibi usurpet divini judicii potestatem, nam si sibi totum vindicet quivis Episcopus, [totum is suppressed in the translation] dicatur quid in judicio acturus est Christus?" Some of Christ's powers Bishops have, but not all. What has this to do with the Pope?*

XIX.

That any unbiassed reader of St. Optatus' work should, for an instant, suppose him to have defended the notion of Scripture being the sole rule of faith,

* The following is Mr. Allwood's translation:—"No man may usurp this power of judgment of right belonging unto God, for if any Bishop should arrogate this to himself, [Mr. Allwood's italics.] what will Christ do in the day of judgment?" The Lecturer evidently intended his hearers to suppose that St. Optatus suggested the probability of the Pope's being condemned, in the words "What will Christ do in the day of judgment?"

is quite impossible. An honest Protestant would say at once that the corruptions of Rome were rapidly spreading. But by interpolation and crasing, it is not difficult to Anglicanize even St. Optatus. In the passage quoted, page 147, Mr. Allwood cuts out a sentence which would have spoiled him as witness for Anglicanism. It is this—"Si Christiani [sunt,] *de utraque parte* dari non possunt [judices,] quia studiis veritatis impeditur; de *foris* querendus est judex; si paganus, non potest Christiana nosse secreta; si Judæus, inimicus est Christiani Baptismatis, *ergo*, &c."—Mr. Allwood has left out both the "*ergo*" and the cause. The Catholics had referred to the Pope again and again, but the Donatists protested against him as a "Traditor;"—therefore in their controversy with them, Catholics appealed to the Scriptures; just as Catholics still do in their controversy with Protestants. Even supposing the quotation, as it stands in Mr. Allwood's book, were an honest one, it could not be fairly used by an Anglican, because it would "prove too much." Every English Minister has signed an article in which he declares that "the Church has authority in controversies of faith." What he means by it, it is hard to say.

XX.

At page 149, the following Canon is said to have been passed "to check the growing ambition and usurpation of Rome." "The Bishop of the first See shall not be called the Prince or first of Bishops, or the Supreme Priest, or anything of this kind, but only the Bishop of the first See." Could Mr. Allwood be ignorant that the "Bishop of the first See" here means, not the Pope, but the Bishop of Carthage? *The Canon was that of a local Council of African Bishops, and related to the title of their own Primate.*

XXI.

In the same page, Mr. Allwood makes an assertion which would be simply lu-

dicrous, if it were not one in a series of very awful deceptions—deceptions elaborately devised by *some* unhappy man, to keep Christians from their Saviour. He says that St. Jerome (of all men in the world) declares Rome “to be the Babylon of the Revelations, from which it was the duty of God’s people to go forth.” Of course every one who heard the lecture believed that it was the *Church* of Rome of which the holy Father spoke. Of course too Mr. Allwood meant his hearers and his readers to think this, or what would be the object of the quotation at all? Yet, he ought to have known very well that Babylon is the name given by the Fathers to the *heathen City*. If he did know it, common honesty required that it should have been explained, to prevent the ears of the audience from being gratified at the expense of truth. The passage in that case would not have suited the Lecturer’s purpose. It was used merely for the sake of the Protestant euphony produced by the consonance of two words sweet to the enemies of the Church of Christ. It is true St. Jerome advised some of his friends, especially those whom he wished to become nuns, to avoid the temptations of the great capital, and spoke of it then as the “Babylon of the Revelations,” but he was at especial pains to prevent any notion that he was disrespectful to the Holy See;—for he added, “*Est quidem ibi sancta ecclesia; sunt trophæa Apostolorum et Martyrum; est Christi vera confessio; est Apostolorum prædicata fides, et gentilitate calcata erigitur in sublime quotidie vocabulum Christianum.*”

XXII.

At page 151, Mr. Allwood makes St. Jerome say to the Pope, “Let the ambition of the Roman chief be banished,” and adds that in these words he reminds St. Damasus “of the humility which becomes the successor of the fisherman.” Any one who reads the passage, even as it is translated in the lecture, will be struck with the awkwardness of this piece of advice on the part of one who

is humbly begging a boon. But if the reader knows any thing at all of Latin, and turns to the original to see whether St. Jerome really did say to the Pope what Mr. Allwood would certainly be very reluctant to say to his own Bishop, he will see that in fact he does *not* say any thing at all like what his Anglican translators make him say. The words are “*absit ambitio Romani culminis.*” The meaning of “ambitio” Mr. Allwood might have gathered from the word “ambiret,” which occurs shortly afterwards. His dictionary at any rate would have shown him that “ambitio” very rarely signifies “ambition,” and that it much more commonly signifies “canvassing” or “flattery;” the trying to compass something by coming round a man, as we say colloquially. What St. Jerome then says here is this:—“Far be it from me to flatter the Roman eminence.” “I do not have recourse to you, as others do, to gain the countenance of a powerful Prelate. I approach you as St. Peter’s successor. I am united to no faction, I follow no primate, I know not Vitalis, Meletius I reject, I am ignorant of Paulinus, (all of whom claim the primacy,) I am not *courting* you through party-spirit, but humbly seeking your aid, as from the Pastor of the Church, in my present perplexity.”

XXIII.

In the same page, St. Jerome is said to conclude his letter by setting forth the orthodox definition, and then adding, “In this confession we are united with you as though we were branded together.” This is not true. There is much more after what is here said to be the conclusion, and in substance it is as follows:—“We are united in this confession, because it is that of Nice; but if you command it we will have a new form of faith, and, however undesirable I may think it, still I place myself entirely in your hands. I conjure you to write and tell me what my creed is to be, and with whom I am to communicate.” St. Jerome’s own words are given in our “*Catena Patrum*,” page 54.

XXIV.

In the same page, again Mr. Allwood says, "I have read the whole of the letter, which can be considered as referring to the claims advanced by the Roman Bishop;" meaning that he had read it aloud to his hearers. Whether this was true the reader may gather from what he has already seen.

XXV.

In the next page it is said "St. Jerome followed no Primate but Christ—he knew no vicar of His upon earth." Mr. Allwood does not think that St. Jerome was a Presbyterian. He knew that he would have followed a Primate just as he himself follows the titular Metropolitan of Australasia, if he had known which of the three who were contending for the primacy was the right one. As it was, he kept aloof, and worshipped Christ in solitude, but, knowing that this was a very wrong state of things, he wrote to the Pope, expressly to ascertain what Primate he was to follow.

XXVI.

At page 153, Mr. Allwood quotes St. Jerome's famous letter to Evagrius, picking out the part which *seems* to be against the Papacy, though he could scarcely be ignorant that the whole letter is an elaborate proof from Scripture that all Priests are Bishops;—that they are *equal*. There is a sense doubtless in which they are so;—but in another sense they are not. So in regard to the equality of Bishops with each other. In one sense they are all equal; in another they are not. That St. Jerome did not mean they were equal in all respects is clear from the examples he gives. "Wherever," he says, "there is a Bishop, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanis,—he is of the same excellency, of the same Episcopate." Now Eugubium was a little petty See in Italy immediately under the Bishop of Rome, as all parties allow. So Rhegium was under Constantinople, and

Tanis under Alexandria. Just in the same sense, then, in which the Bishop of Eugubium was equal to the Bishop of Rome,—according to St. Jerome, the poorest Priest under the Eugubian prelate was equal to his own Diocesan, and St. Jerome himself to Damasus. Had he said, the Bishops of Rome, Constantinople, and Alexandria are all equal, he would probably have added something to explain his meaning; but as he purposely chose them in pairs, three Metropolitans and three Suffragans, he was in no danger of being misunderstood. The fact is that to St. Jerome the difference between the Pope himself and the humblest Priest seemed as nothing, because by both, he says, "*Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur.*" All that this holy Father says about undue respect for the *city* of Rome, and for *rich* Bishops, and of making up to the Roman "*eulmen*," gives great force to his most submissive appeal to the Successor of the Fisherman. Presbyterians might quote this letter to Evagrius with some force, but to Anglicans it avails nothing. Indeed it tends to overturn their theory entirely. No divine right can be claimed for Bishops which is not due also to the Pope, both offices being, in their gradual growth, developments, in fulfilment of our Lord's appointment and promises, for the preventing of schism, and the effective government of His gradually extending Church.

XXVII.

To counteract the testimony of St. Chrysostom to the authority of the Holy See, Mr. Allwood says, (page 154,) that he wrote not only to the Pope, but to other Western Bishops, and that the letters he wrote to the other Bishops were *similar* to those which he sent to the Bishop of Rome. "He accordingly wrote a letter to Innocent, Bishop of Rome, and *similar ones to Venerius, Bishop of Milan, and Chromatius, Bishop of Aquileia.*"

This is a pure invention devised to get over the difficulty. The letter to

Venerius of Milan does, it is true, relate to the subject of affairs which demanded the Papal interference; but its tone is as to an inferior, and the expression used in order to gain his interest in those affairs is this:—"I *exhort* you all to devote your energies to this perplexing business." The letter to Chromatius has nothing whatever to do with the subject, the only request in it being as follows:—"We implore and beseech you.....to write and give us an account of your health!"

This Mr. Allwood says is a *similar* request to that which he made to the Pope; viz.:—"I beseech you to direct that what has been iniquitously done against me in my absence, and without any trial, shall be null and void...and that they who have thus acted may be visited with ecclesiastical censure." And the former expression to Venerius, 'according to Mr. Allwood, is *similar* to the following:—"You are like the best pilots who are most watchful when the waves run highest. We are for ever grateful that you have shewn more than paternal love in benevolence and zeal towards us...This is our wall, this is our safety, this is a treasure of infinite value, this is our joy, and a source of greatest delight."

XXVIII.

St. Chrysostom, continues Mr. Allwood, requests of St. Innocent, "*not judgment of his case*—" Then what is the meaning of the words "I beseech you to direct, &c." quoted above? If *πιστευω* be taken simply for "to send word by letter," to send "rescripts," still the meaning is the same. St. Chrysostom wished the Pope to declare his *judgment* that the proceedings referred to were null and void.

But Mr. Allwood says, it is only his *opinion* that he wanted, and he enforces this view by urging again, "Why should he have written similar letters to the Bishops of Milan and Aquileia?" When it can be shewn that he called either of these prelates, or any other prelate in the world, "The Pastor of many nations,"

"The watchful guardian, who, like a good pilot, was most on the alert in danger," "One who manifested towards the Eastern Church more than paternal love—one whose vigilance was the wall and safety, and haven, and treasure, and joy of that Church;" then, but not till then, shall we believe Mr. Allwood's assertion.

XXIX.

At page 162, in order to weaken the force of a passage from St. Augustine, a person named Honoratus, to whom that Father was writing, is said to have been an infidel. Mr. Allwood would have it believed that St. Augustine is defending the Church of God against Pagans, not the Church of Rome against heretics; and so he makes St. Augustine utter an absurdity, viz., that the Church has obtained the summit of authority, and is pre-eminent among heathens. What Mr. Allwood says is untrue. Honoratus was *not* a Pagan, but a Christian heretic, a Trinitarian, an Advocate for simplicity of worship,—(See page 74, note,) and an opponent of Altars and Images, and the Invocation of Saints.

XXX.

At page 165 we have a well known passage from St. Augustine; but the last sentence would have spoilt it, as far as Mr. Allwood's object went, and it is accordingly omitted. Standing as it does, it looks like a recantation, but it is not so. St. Augustine gives both interpretations, as being perfectly consistent with each other, and then concludes; (the words following immediately after those quoted by Mr. Allwood) "*Harum autem duarum sententiarum quæ sit probabilior eligat lector.*" Elsewhere he gives a *third* interpretation; "*Petrus autem a petra, petra vero Ecclesia.*" The doctrine he taught is very plain. It is that the Church is one, inter-communion never ceasing;—that to signify that unity one Apostle is chosen out of many to be the Church's representative, a rock on a rock, to speak for her, to

receive gifts for her, to be her Chief Pastor, the Prince of the Apostolic "Cathedra," and the centre of unity:—clearly maintaining this as he always did, there was no danger in continually dwelling *also* upon the fact that the Church is nothing, Peter nothing, without Christ, the "Petra," on whom both Peter and the Church were built.

XXXI.

At page 167, Mr. Allwood renews his indecent charge against Pope Zosimus. It has been already said that St. Augustine differed from Mr. Allwood in his view of St. Zosimus' character. It is remarkable that he was actually called upon to vindicate St. Zosimus against the Pelagian heretic Julian. He might have addressed the Anglican heretic of the nineteenth century in the same terms:—"QUARE EST AUTEM QUOD BEATÆ MEMORIÆ ZOSIMUM APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS EPISCOPUM, UT IN TUA PRAVITATE PERSISTAS, PRÆVARICATIONIS ACCUSAS?" x. 681. D.

Then follows a quotation from an epistle of the African Bishops, which as usual is garbled and mistranslated.

Instead of "they exhort him not to admit into communion," it ought to be "they *entreat* him not to admit into communion *too readily*." "Deprecamur" is rendered by the word "exhort," and "facilius" is suppressed. Instead of "Do not send any more of your clergy as your officials here," read, "Be reluctant to send your clergy *at every one's bidding* to carry out your decrees." "Nolite mittere. quibuscunque petentibus." "Nolite" implies not command, but entreaty. Compare St. Jerome's second letter to St. Damasus, "Noli despiciere animum pro qua Christus mortuus est." Then "your officials" is not the English of "executores," the right meaning of which is expressed above. We have here four acts of dishonesty. 1. "Deprecamur" is rendered "we exhort." 2. "Facilius" is omitted. 3. "Any more of," "your," and "here," are interpolated to give the letter an insolent tone, which it was far from the in-

tention of the African writers to adopt. 4. "Executores" is translated "officials," when, in fact, it means "for the purpose of executing."

The indiscretion of some of these "executores" had caused the secular magistrates to interfere, and so "to introduce the arrogant pride of the world into the Church of Christ,"—and the African Bishops were naturally very anxious to prevent this in future.

Considerable light is thrown upon this matter by St. Augustine's own letter to St. Cælestine, written A.D. 423, viz., a year after, according to Mr. Allwood and Archbishop Laud, "a formal separation took place from communion with the Church of Rome!" St. Augustine deposed Antonius, Bishop of Fussala, upon which the latter procured letters commendatory from other Bishops, the "Primas" among them, and with such testimonials contrived to get restored by St. Boniface, on condition of his story being true. The magistrates used violence at Fussala to restore him. Upon this St. Augustine writes, not to St. Boniface, for he died in the mean while, but to his successor, St. Cælestine; 1st, to shew that Antonius' story was *not* true:—2ndly, to ask the Pope's help to set matters right;—and 3rdly, to try and prevent, as the Council had done, any further occurrence of the "famosum typhum sæculi." Let us see whether it is the letter of a Protestant roused to indignation by the "forgeries" and presumptuous interference of the Pope. "Primum gratulationem reddo meritis tuis, quod te in illa Sede Dominus Deus noster sine ulla sicut audivimus plebis suæ discissione constituit. Deinde insinuo Sanetitati tuæ, quæ sint circa nos, ut non solum orando pro nobis, verum etiam consulendo et opitulando subvenias. In magna quippe tribulatione positus hæc ad tuam Beatitudinem scripta direxi." This is rather a strange beginning from one who is said, just before he wrote it, to have indignantly protested against all Papal interference! "Collabora obsecro nobiscum pietate, Venerabilis Domine, beatissime, et debita

caritate venerande, Sancte Papa, et jube tibi quæ directæ sunt omnia recitari." Strange indeed from one in formal separation from the Holy See. "Nisi scirem vos tam propensos ad *misericordiam*, ut non solum nobis, quia illi pepereimus, verum etiam ipsi existimetis esse *parcendum*....." "Existunt exempla, ipsâ sede Apostolicâ judicante, vel aliorum judicata firmante....." Stranger still! Can this be from a *Protestant*? "Quia ergo *pastorali vigilique cautela* beatissimus Papa Bonifacius in epistola sua posuit, &c.....Subveni hominibus opem tuam." So much for St. Augustine's rejection of Papal jurisdiction.

After all this, comes precisely the request of the Council, which is quoted to prove that the African Bishops cast off the communion of the Pope. If St. Augustine could thus remonstrate, and yet manifest his allegiance as he does in this letter to St. Cælestine, why might not *they* be of the same mind? And of course they *were*. The Church of Africa, whose achievements under the Pope St. Prosper celebrates, (See page 84,) was certainly in no state of schism when he wrote, which was a few years after St. Augustine's death; and the exercise of St. Leo's jurisdiction there may be seen at page 93.

The following is St. Augustine's remonstrance. Let his words interpret those of his brother-bishops:—"Subveni hominibus opem tuam in Christi misericordia multo avidius quam ille (St. Boniface) poscentibus, a cujus inquietudine, (viz., the oppression of the secular power which seemed to have his sanction,) desiderant liberari. Judicia quippe illis et publicas potestates et militares impetus, *tanquam executores* Apostolicæ sedis sententiam, sive ipsæ, sive rumores creberrimi comminantur, ut miseri homines Christiani Catholici graviora formident a Catholico episcopo, quam cum essent hæretici, a Catholicorum Imperatorum legibus formidabant. Non sinas ista fieri, obsecro te per Christi sanguinem, per Apostoli Petri memoriam, qui Christianorum præpositos populorum monuit ne violenter dominantur in

fratres." Farther on we read, "*Neque Fussalensibus succenseo quia justam de me querimoniam ingerunt auribus tuis;*" and again, "*Utrique misericordiam mercantur tuam, illi ne mala patiantur, iste ne faciat; illi ne oderint Catholicam si a Catholicis episcopis maximeque ab ipsa sede Apostolica, contra Catholicum non eis subvenitur episcopum; iste autem ne se tanto scelere obstringat ut quos molitur invitos facere suos a Christo faciat alienos.*.....Si autem et membra Christi quæ in illa regione sunt ab exitiabili timore ac tristitia reereaveris, et meam senectutem *hæc misericordii justitia* fueris consolatus, retribuet tibi, et in presenti et in futura vita, bona pro bonis, qui per te nobis in ista tribulatione succurrit, et qui te in illa sede constituit." —*Tom. ii. p. 777.*

The attempt to show, in the face of this letter, that the African Church was not submissive to the Holy See in the time of St. Augustine, is a proof that when men argue for victory, and not for truth, they readily set at defiance all laws both of common sense and common honesty.*

* Mr. Allwood makes much of a letter said to have been written by an African Bishop called Eulalius to Pope Boniface II., and the Pope's reply. Baronius and Bellarmine, he says, deny their genuineness, but "*do not adduce a single argument in evidence against their authority.*" No! let us turn to Bellarmine and see.

Respondeo primum, valde mihi eas epistolas esse suspectas. Nam in primis pugnare videntur cum iis quæ diximus de conjunctione Augustini, Eugenii, et aliorum Africanorum cum Romana Ecclesia. Deinde Eulalius Alexandrinus ad quem Bonifacius scribere videtur, nullus fuit, aut certe eo tempore non fuit, ut patet ex chronologia Nicephori Constantinopolitani. Præterea, Bonifacius significat in epistola sua, Justino imperante se scribere, at Justinus obierat, antequam Bonifacius sedere inciperet, ut ex historiis omnibus constat. Ad hæc, epistola quæ Bonifacio adscribitur, tota fere constat ex duobus fragmentis, quorum alterum sumptum est ex epistola Hormisdæ Pontificis ad Joannem, alterum ex epist. S. Grego. ad Episcopos Gallie, quæ est quinquagesima secunda lib. quarti. At S. Gregorius eo tempore nondum erat natus, neque credibile est, Gregorium a Bonifacio illa verba sumpsisse, siquidem stylus omnino Gregorianus est. In epistola etiam quæ Eulalio Carthaginensi tribuitur, quædam sententia Gregoriana inseritur ex lib. iv. ep. 36, ad Eulogium. Et reliquum

XXXII.

In the translation of a passage from St. Vincent of Lirins, two little words are omitted which materially affect the sense. These are "indeed" and "so much." "Pope Stephen of blessed memory, Bishop of the Apostolic See, resisted, in common *indeed* with the rest of his fellow-bishops, but yet more than the rest, thinking it, as I suppose, reason *so much* to excel all others in devotion towards the faith, as he was superior in authority of position." This is certainly but a *petty* fraud, but it shows in a remarkable manner the spirit of the person who devised it. His extract is not from the original, but from the little translation published lately at Oxford, so that the omission is less likely to have been accidental.

XXXIII.

At page 181, we read, "the historian Eusebius makes no allusion to any Bishops of Rome." How Mr. Allwood could venture upon an assertion which the veriest tyro in Ecclesiastical history knows to be false, it is hard to say. Eusebius' well known words are these. "The prelate of the Imperial City was prevented from attending by extreme old age; but his Presbyters were present and were his representatives."

ejus epistolæ nihil est nisi fragmentum epistolæ Joannis Episcopi Constantinopolitani ad Papam Hormisdam." — *De Rom. Pontif. lib. ii. c. 25.*

Here are six very conclusive arguments. Whether they prove the matter in question, the reader may judge for himself, but *one* thing they prove clearly, and that is that Mr. Allwood's assertion is made with his usual recklessness.

"Forged" they probably were, not by "Boniface and his accomplices" to whom, as Mr. Allwood himself very truly observes, they could be of no possible use, but by some heretic whose object was to sneer, as Mr. Allwood does, at "Papal pretensions!" Most of the calumnies propagated about the *Jesuits* owe their origin to forgeries of this kind. The insertion of these and many other spurious documents among the decretals is owing to the simplicity of the ages of faith; when devotion to Christ and His holy Church abounded more than literary acuteness or the power of discrimination.

XXXIV.

"Nor do any of the Greek historians"! *All* the historians are at special pains to account for the Pope's absence, and to shew that he was duly represented. Theodoret quotes a letter of St. Damasus in which the Council is thus designated. "The 318 prelates and the legates of Rome."

XXXV.

"He (Hosius) is mentioned by all, &c." This is untrue. He is mentioned by *two* only, Sozomen and Socrates, as the Emperor's friend; and of these the latter says nothing at all about his presence at the council; the former says simply, *ὡς ἢ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀμα συνδρυναν.*

XXXVI.

At page 102, Mr. Allwood says "the second Ephesian Council," (the "Latrocinium" as Catholics call it,) "was lawfully convened." The Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon contradicts Mr. Allwood. The fathers therein assembled declare that it was *not* lawfully convened, because the Pope's authority was not obtained.

XXXVII.

"The Bishop of Rome had his legates there"—and the words are in italics. Yet Mr. Allwood knew, or ought to have known, that they were only the bearers of his famous epistle, which Dioscorus refused to read, and that they gave no sanction whatever to the Council's proceedings.

XXXVIII.

"The Emperor Theodosius," says Mr. Allwood, "entrusted Dioscorus, the Bishop of Alexandria, with the presidency of the Council, in these words:—"We do also commit to thy godliness the authority and the preeminency of all things appertaining to the Synod now assembled." Of course it is intended that this should be taken as an example of the Catholic usage,—the right way of doing things in those days; but in fact Dioscorus was the Eutychian president of a Eutychian Council, summoned by a Eutychian Emperor, and for his acts of

insubordination to the Holy See, he was *deposed* by the Papal Legates.

XXXIX.

At page 203, Mr. Allwood mentions as a sort of set off against the sentence passed by St. Leo, the fact that the Eutychiean Patriarch of Alexandria excommunicated the Bishop of Rome. He should in fairness have added that the 630 Eastern Bishops assembled in the 4th General Council spoke of this presumptuous act in the following terms:—"He dared to level his rage even against him whom the Saviour had constituted the keeper of His Vineyard."

XL.

In the same page it is said that the *Council* reinstated the Bishops who had been deposed at Ephesus. The *fact* is that the *Pope* reinstated them, and the Council approved.

XLI.

Mr. Allwood does all he can to show that the Council set the Papal legates at nought, whereas he could not, after looking over the "Acts," be ignorant of the fact that, in spite of occasional opposition, the legates carried all before them. Every page shows that they were treated with unbounded respect, and obeyed with as much deference as were the legates at the Council of Trent. As for the Emperor Marcion, he was a true Catholic, and a devout adherent of the Pope's, and his influence was no doubt very useful in controlling the unruly prelates of the east; but St. Leo it was who at this critical juncture preserved the Catholic faith. If it had not been for the peremptory instructions which he gave to his legates, the Council would have carried a formula, the tendency of which, to say the least, was towards the heresy of the Monophysites. It is a fact too that the "via media" men who, while they abjured Eutyches, protested against the Pope, *did* become Monophysites.

XLII.

At page 172, in the 28th Canon

of Chalcedon, Mr. Allwood renders *πρεσβυα* "precedency" and so makes absolute nonsense. "Privileges" is the meaning of the word. The Council wished to confer on the Bishop of New Rome privileges such as the Pope had as Bishop of Old Rome, viz., *metropolitan* privileges. The feminine substantive means "preedeny," but the neuter plural which is here used has not that meaning at all.

XLIII.

Then there follows a most grievous perversion of the original:—"reasonably judging that a city which is honoured by the government and senate should enjoy equal rank with the ancient Queen Rome; and have the like greatness in Ecclesiastical affairs, having the second place after her." The *true* translation is this, "Judging that the city honoured with the government and senate, and enjoying equal privileges with the ancient Queen Rome, should like her be magnified in Ecclesiastical matters also, and should rank second after her." *κριναντες την βασιλικα και συγκλητω τιμηθῆσαι πολιν και των ισων απολαυνουσαν πρεσβιων τη πρεσβυτερα βασιλιδι Ῥωμῃ, και εν τοις εκκλησιαστικοις, ως ἱκυνη, μεγαλυνῆσθαι πραγμασι.* The Canon goes on to say, "And that the Metropolitans alone of the Pontic, Asiatic, and Thracian dioceses.....shall be ordained by him." That "the equal privileges of honour" which the Eastern Fathers wished to secure to the Bishop of an equal city, did not at all interfere with the Divine right of universal jurisdiction which the Holy See derived from no Canons, but from Christ Himself, will be clear to any one who reads the quotations adduced at page 97. Before they proposed this new arrangement they said that "the primacy and the peculiar honour" was before all things to be preserved to Ancient Rome. *τα πρωτια και την ἱξαιρέτου τιμην.* They appealed to Leo, their "Father" and "Head," and humbly begged his sanction of their decree, saying that "all its force" depended upon his approval of it. And he, considering, not that his own supremacy was affected, but that it was unfair to the Patriarchs

of Alexandria and Antioch, refused to confirm it, and declared it to be null and void, "on the authority of the blessed Peter."

XLIV.

At page 214, Mr. Allwood says, "The pretension to universal jurisdiction was unknown to the prelates of Chalcedon." Yet he must have been well aware that all the documents addressed to the Council were superscribed, "To the Universal Archbishop, the most holy and beloved of God Leo, and the Chalcedonian Council," and that in the course of the proceedings his continual title was "the Pope of the Universal Church;" that his legates pronounced sentence in his name before the whole Council upon the Patriarch of Alexandria; and that the chief offence of that prelate was the presuming to preside at a Synod assembled without his permission, which is declared to be absolutely unlawful.

XLV.

At page 215, he adds that this Council "knew of no claim to authority in the Church as of *divine right*." Yet he must have read the Synodical letter to St. Leo, wherein the Pope is distinctly said to have had "the custody of the Vineyard committed to him by the Saviour."

XLVI.

"The claim to precedency," he continues in the same page, "was not founded upon any vain pretence of Succession from St. Peter." Yet he must have been quite familiar with the terms in which the sentence against Dioscorus was passed, viz., "the Pope through this Council and with St. Peter, the rock and foundation of the Church deprives him, &c;" and with the continued exclamations of the prelates, "Peter has spoken by Leo;" and with the declaration in their letter that he was the "constituted interpreter of the voice of blessed Peter."

Such are the weapons wielded by heretics against the Church of God. *Ex uno disce omnes*. That men in other respects of unblemished character, men, who in ordinary matters would be above the lightest word of deceit, should perpetrate so great an outrage against every principle of honor and morality, on the highest of all subjects, is truly "a mystery of iniquity." So great a mystery indeed that it is seldom believed, and the consequence is that falsehoods a thousand times detected and exposed, are taken up anew and propagated, ever and anon, with fresh zeal and industry. So far as Mr. Allwood individually is concerned, the matter is now before the world, and the world will do him justice. The writer will only add, that if he has in a single instance been unfair, he is ready at once to make ample apology.

And now, dear Reader, if any misgiving as to your present position has been excited in your mind, put it not from you as something irksome, nor try to persuade yourself that further dwelling upon it would be unprofitable. The question is one of thrilling importance. Are you or are you not in the Church of Christ? You have seen how Antiquity answers the question:—you know how a long catalogue of great and good men, of all ages and countries, have answered it;—you know how the great bulk of the Christian world would answer it still. *How will you answer it yourself?* May God help you to see the truth, and strengthen you to embrace it.

A crisis, be assured, is approaching, and men must choose their side. Remember, then,—when trouble increases, and dangers abound, and doubts press heavily upon your conscience, and one says Christ is here, and another Christ is there,—in your hour of trial, remember that word of God,

"THE LORD ADDED TO THE CHURCH DAILY
SUCH AS SHOULD BE SAVED."

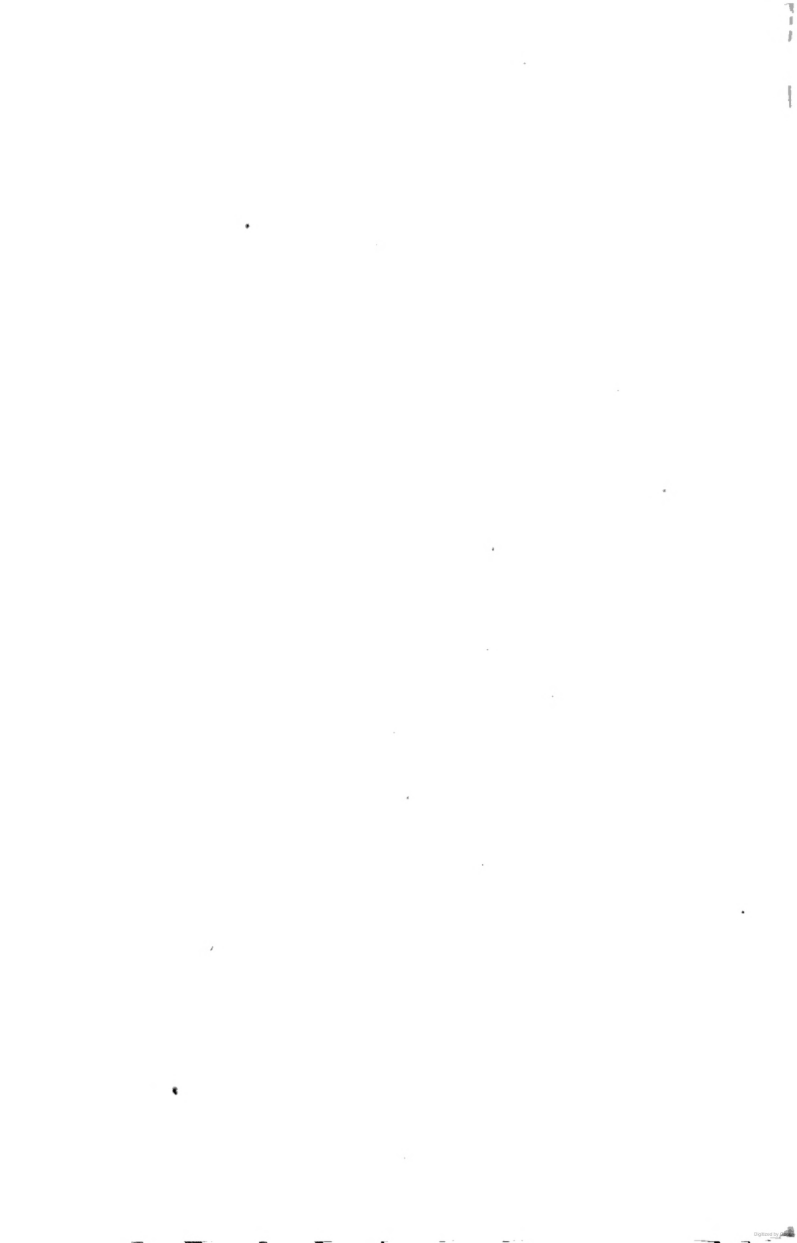
AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM

ET IN HONOREM

BEATÆ MARÆ VIRGINIS.

THE writer desires to lay this book at the foot of his Saviour's Cross, a poor offering of gratitude for mercy most undeserved. His heart overflows each day with unspeakable joy, as the blessings of God's earthly Kingdom of grace open more and more upon his view. Truly they who spread reports about the disappointment of converts, little know how far beyond all power of words to describe is their satisfaction and their happiness. It is as though they had passed from death to life, from shadows to reality, from longing to fruition. That his book might be instrumental in bringing others to the same happiness has been the writer's daily prayer, while preparing it for publication. He now gives it to the world, scarcely daring, in the consciousness of his own unworthiness, to hope for so high a privilege. In this, as in all else,

God's Will be Done.



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